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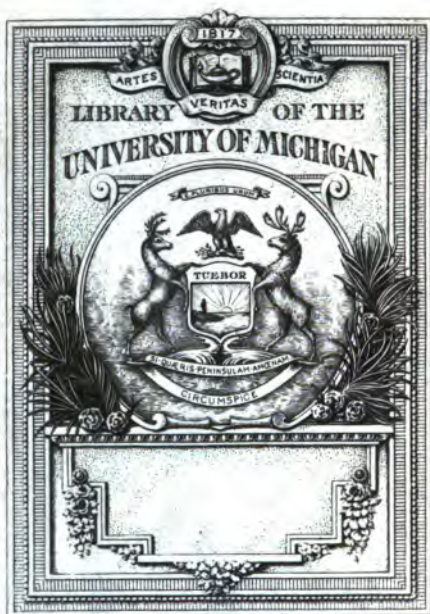
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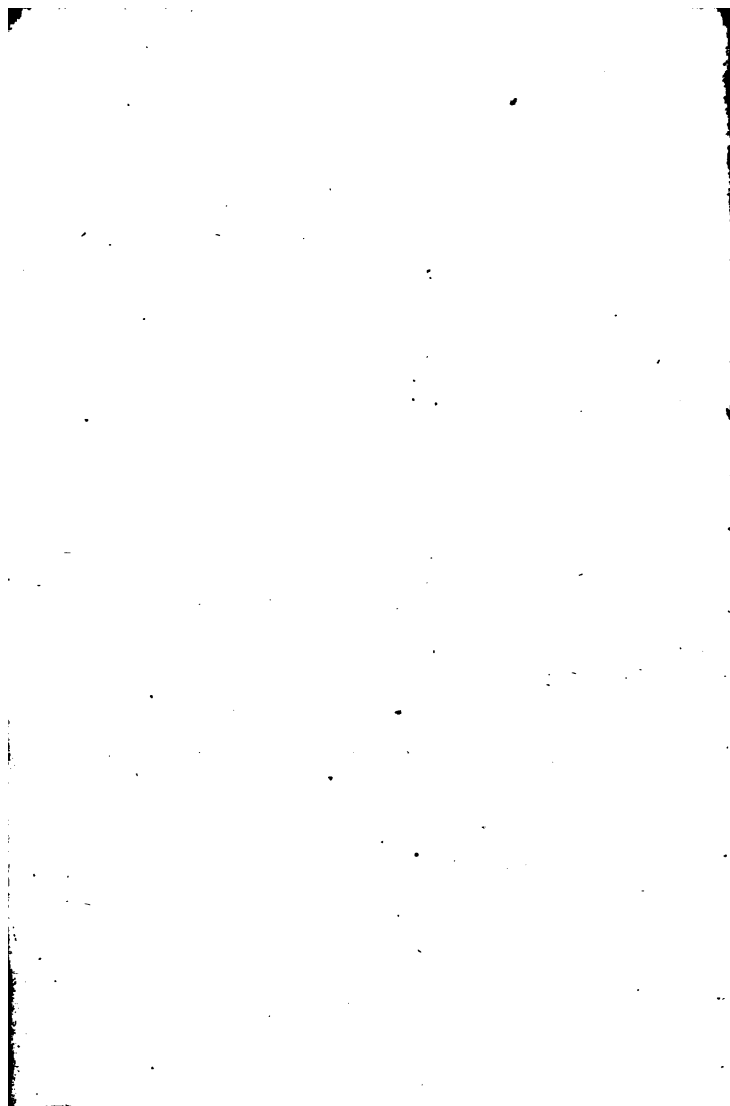
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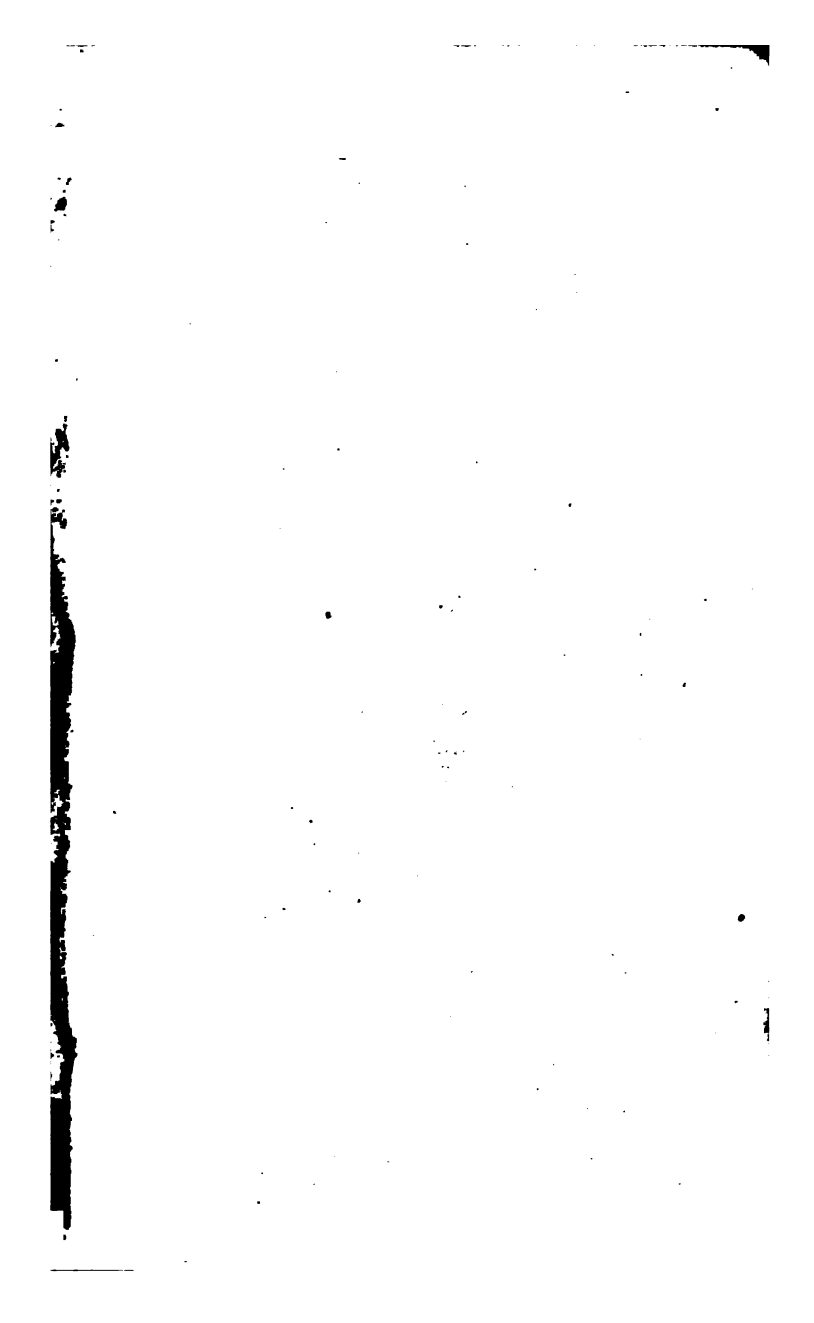
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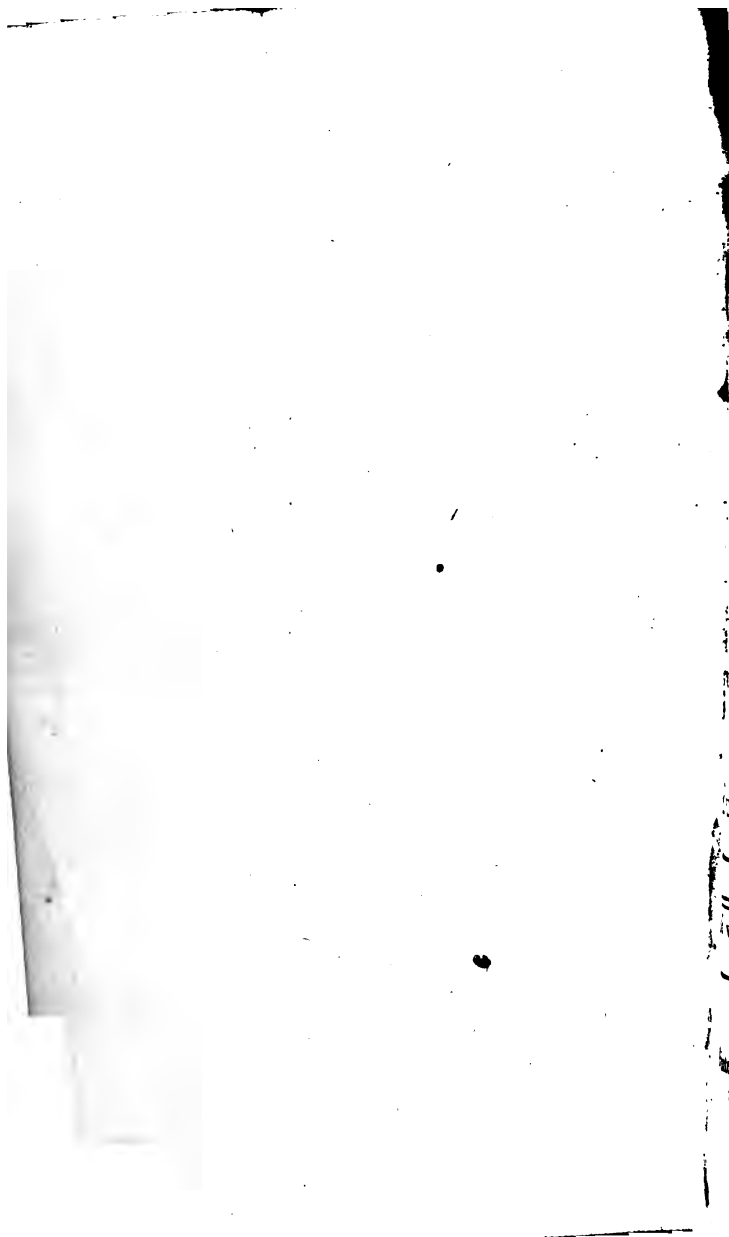


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A
V I E W
OF THE
S T A T E
OF
I R E L A N D

AS IT WAS
in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

Written by Way of DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

UDOXUS and IRENEUS.

By EDMUND SPENSER.

which is prefix'd the AUTHOR's Life; and
an INDEX added to the Work.

D U B L I N :

ed for LAURENCE FLIN, in *Castle-Street*,
and ANN WATTS, in *Skinner-Row*.

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T H E

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Mr. EDMUND SPENSER.

AS the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is one of the most shining Parts of our History, and an Age of which *Englishmen* are accustom'd to speak with a particular Pride and Delight; it is remarkable for having been fruitful in Eminent Genius's of very different kinds. Among the *Romans* the Age of *Augustus* is observ'd to have produc'd the finest Wits, but the preceding one the greatest Men. . But this was a Period of Time distinguish'd for both; and by a wonder-
 2 2 ful

11-11-35 11-11-35

ful Conjunction, we find Learning and Arms, Wisdom and Polite Arts arising to the greatest Heights together.

IN this happy Reign flourish'd EDMUND SPENSER, the most eminent of our Poets till that Time, unless we except *Chaucer*, who was in some respects his Master and Original. The Accounts of his Birth and Family are but obscure and imperfect ; and it has happen'd to him, as to many other Men of Wit and Learning, to be much better known by his Works than by the History of his Life. He was born in *London*, and had his Education at *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*. Tho' in the Dedications of one or two of his Poems, we find him claiming Affinity with some Persons of Distinction, yet his Fortune and Interest seem at his first setting out to have been very inconsiderable : For after he had continu'd in the College for some time, and laid that Foundation of Learning, which, join'd to his natural Genius, qualify'd him for rising to so great an Excellency afterwards, he stood for a Fellowship, in Competition with Mr. *Andrews*, afterwards

MR. EDMUND SPENSER. III

terwards Bishop of *Winchester*, but without Success. This Disappointment, together with the Narrowness of his Circumstances, forc'd him from the University. And we find him next taking up his Residence with some Friends in the North, where he fell in Love with his *Rosalind*, whom he so finely celebrates, in his Pastoral Poems, and of whose Cruelty he has written such pathetic Complaints.

As Poetry is frequently the Offspring of Love and Retirement, it is probable his Genius began first to distinguish itself about this time; for the *Shepherd's Calendar*, which is so full of his unprosperous Passion for *Rosalind*, was the first of his Works of any Note. This he address'd, by a short Dedication in Verse, to Sir *Philip Sidney*; concealing himself under the humble Title of *Immerito*. Sir *Philip* was then in the highest Reputation for his Wit, Gallantry, and Polite Accomplishments; and indeed seems to have been the most universally admir'd and belov'd of any one Gentleman of the Age in which he liv'd. As he was him-

self a very good Writer, and especially excell'd in the fabulous or inventive part of Poetry; it is no wonder he soon became sensible of our Author's Merit. He was one of the first who discover'd it, and recommended it to the Notice of the best Judges of that time; and so long as this great Man liv'd, *Spenser* never wanted a judicious Friend and a generous Patron.

AFTER he had staid for some time in the *North*, he was prevail'd upon, by the Advice of some Friends, to quit his Obscurity, and come to *London*, that he might be in the way of Promotion. To this he alludes in his Sixth *Eclogue*, where *Hobbinol* (by which Name is meant his intimate Friend Mr. *Gabriel Harvey*) persuades *Colin* to leave the hilly Country, as a barren and unthriving Solitude, and remove to a better Soil. The first Step he afterwards made towards Preferment, was, as I have said, his Acquaintance with Sir *Philip Sidney*: but whether that Acquaintance began immediately upon his addressing to him the *Shepherd's Calendar*, as to me seems most probable, or some time after, I will not determine.

That

That which makes it somewhat uncertain, is a Story of him which I shall only set down as I find it related, not knowing how far it may appear worthy of Credit. It is said he was a Stranger to Mr. *Sidney* (afterwards Sir *Philip*) when he had begun to write his *Fairy Queen*, and that he took occasion to go to *Leicester-House*, and to introduce himself by sending in to Mr. *Sidney* a Copy of the Ninth Canto of the First Book of that Poem. Mr. *Sidney* was much surpriz'd with the Description of *Despair* in that Canto, and is said to have shewn an unusual kind of Transport on the Discovery of so new and uncommon a Genius. After he had read some Stanza's, he turn'd to his Steward, and bid him give the Person that brought those Verses Fifty Pounds; but upon reading the next Stanza, he order'd the Sum to be doubled. The Steward was no less surpriz'd than his Master, and thought it his Duty to make some Delay in executing so sudden and lavish a Bounty; but upon reading one Stanza more, Mr. *Sidney* rais'd his Gratuity to Two Hundred Pounds, and commanded the Steward to give it immediately,

mediately, lest as he read further, he might be tempted to give away his whole Estate. From this time he admitted the Author to his Acquaintance and Conversation, and prepar'd the way for his being known and receiv'd at Court.

THo' nothing cou'd have been more happy for him than to be thus introduc'd, yet he did not immediately reap any great Benefit by it. He was indeed created Poet Laureat to Queen *Elizabeth*, but for some time he wore a barren Laurel, and possess'd only the Place without the Pension. The Lord Treasurer *Burleigh* had not, it seems, the same Taste of *Spenser's* Merit with Sir *Philip Sidney*; and, whether out of Neglect, or any particular Resentment, or from whatever Cause, he is said to have intercepted the Queen's Favour to this unfortunate and ingenious Man. As the most elegant Minds have the quickest Sense of Repulses from the Great and Powerful, who should countenance and protect them, it is no wonder this Misfortune sunk deep into our Author's Spirit, and seems to have dwelt upon him for a great space of his Life.

Accordingly

Accordingly we find him in many parts of his Works pouring forth his Heart in Complaints of so hard and undeserv'd a Treatment; which probably would have been less unfortunate to him, if his Noble Patron Sir *Philip Sidney* had not been so much absent from Court, as he was oblig'd to be, by his Employments abroad, and by the share he had in the *Low-Country Wars*.

IN the Poem call'd *The Ruins of Time*, which was written some time after *Sidney's* Death, the Author seems to allude to the Discouragement I have mention'd in the following Stanza.

O Grief of Griefs! O Gall of all good Hearts!
To see that *Vertue* should despised be
Of such as first were rais'd for *Vertue's* Parts;
And now broad spreading like an aged Tree,
Let none shoot up that nigh them planted be.
O let not those of whom the *Muse* is scorn'd,
Alive or dead be by the *Muse* adorn'd.

And in the Poem call'd *The Tears of the Muses*, in the Speech of *Calliope*, these Lines are apply'd to Persons of Quality
a f and

The LIFE of
and Estates, who are reproach'd for their
total Disregard of Learning.

*Their great Revenues all in sumptuous Pride
They spend, that nought to Learning they
may spare;
And the rich Fee which Poets wont divide,
Now Parasites and Sycophants do share.*

BUT it is said that the Lord Treasurer, who perhaps at first only neglected *Spenser*, conceiv'd afterwards a Hatred of him for some Reflections, which he apprehended were made on him in his *Mother Hubbard's Tale*. In this Poem the Author has indeed in the most lively manner painted out the Misfortune of Dependence on Court-Favour. The Lines which follow are, among others, very remarkable.

*Full little knowest thou that hast not try'd,
What Hell it is, in suing long to bide,
To lose good days, that might be better spent,
To waste long Nights in pensive Discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
To feed on Hope, to pine with Fear and
Sorrow;*

To

Mr. EDMUND SPENSER. ix
To have thy Prince's Grace; yet want
her Peers;

*To have thy asking, yet wait many Years:
To fret thy Soul with Crosses and with Cares,
To eat thy Heart thro' comfortless Despairs;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.*

This, as it was very much the Author's
Case, might probably be the particular
Passage in that poem which gave Of-
fence; for even the Sighs of a miserable
Man are sometimes resented as an Af-
front by him that is the occasion of them.

At the end of the sixth Book of the
Fairy Queen, the Author plainly alludes
to this Misfortune; where speaking of
Detraction, described as a Monster, he
concludes with the following Stanza.

*Ne may this hamely Verse, of many meanest,
Hope to escape his venomous Despite,
More than my former Writs, all were they
cleanest
From blameful Blot, and free from all that
Wite
With which some wicked Tongues did it
backbite,*

And

*And bring into a mighty Peer's Displeasure,
That never 'so deserved 'to indite.*

Therefore do you my Rimes, keep better Measure,

*And seek to please, that now is counted wise
Mens Treasure.*

I THINK I ought not here to omit a little Story, which seems founded on the Grievance I have mention'd, and is related by some, as a Matter of Fact commonly reported at that time. It is said the Queen, upon his presenting some Poems to her, order'd him a Gratuity of an Hundred Pounds; but that the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh* objecting to it, said, with some Scorn of the poet, *What! all this for a Song?* The Queen replied, — *Then give him what is Reason.* *Spencer* waited for some time, but had the Mortification to find himself disappointed of the Queen's intended Bounty. Upon this, he took a proper Opportunity to present a Paper to Queen *Elizabeth* in the Manner of a Petition, in which he reminded her of the Orders she had given in the following Lines.

I was

*I was promised on a Time
To have Reason for my Rhime;
From that time unto this Season
I receiv'd nor Rhime nor Reason.*

This Paper produc'd the desired Effect; and the Queen not without some Re-
proof of the Treasurer, immediately di-
rected the Payment of the Hundred
Pounds she had first order'd.

BUT tho' our Author had no better
Interest with the Lord Treasurer, yet
we find him, some time after his Ap-
pearance at Court, in considerable Es-
teem with the most eminent men of that
time. In the Year 1579, he was sent
abroad by the Earl of *Leicester*, as ap-
pears by a Copy of *Latin* Verses dated
from *Leicester-House*, and address'd to
his Friend Mr. *Harvey*: But in what
Service he was employ'd is uncertain.
The most considerable Step he after-
wards made into Business, was upon the
Lord *Grey of Wilton's* being chosen De-
puty of *Ireland*, to whom Mr. *Spencer*
was recommended as Secretary. This
drew him over into another Kingdom,
and

and settled him for some time in a scene of Life very different from what he had known before. There is no doubt but he discharged his Employment with very good Skill and Capacity, as may appear by his *Discourse on the State of Ireland*; in which there are many solid and judicious Remarks, that shew him no less qualify'd for the Business of the State, than for the entertainments of the Muses. His Life now seem'd to be freed from the Difficulties which had hitherto perplex'd it, and his Services to the Crown were rewarded by a Grant from Queen *Elizabeth* of 3000 Acres of Land in the County of *Cork*. His House was in *Kilcolman*; and the River *Mulla*, which he has more than once so beautifully introduc'd in his Poems, ran thro' his Grounds.

It was about this Time that he contracted an intimate Friendship with the great and learned Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was then a Captain under the Lord *Grey*. The Poem called, *Colin Clout's come home again*, in which Sir *Walter* is describ'd under the Name of *the Shepherd of the Ocean*, is a beautiful Memorial
of

of this Friendship, which took its Rise from a Likeness of Taste in the Polite Arts, and is agreeably describ'd by our Author, after the pastoral Manner, in the following Lines.

——— *I sate as was my Trade,
Under the Foot of Mole, that mountain bore,
Keeping my Sheep amongst the cooly Shade
Of the green Alders, by the Mulla's Shore:
There a strange Shepherd chanc'd to find me out,
Whether allured with my Pipe's Delight,
Whose pleasing Sound yshrilled far about,
Or thither led by Chance I know not right:
Whom when I asked from what Place he came,
And how he hight: himself he did ycleep
The Shepherd of the Ocean by Name,
And said he came far from the main-Sea deep.
He sitting me beside, in that same Shade
Provoked me to play some pleasant Fit;
And when he heard the Musick that I made,
He found himself full greatly pleas'd at it.
Yet emuling my Pipe, he took in bond
My Pipe, before that emuled of many,
And plaid thereon, for well that Skill he con'd
Himself as skilful in that Art as any.*

Sir *Walter* did him some Services afterwards at Court; and by this means Queen
Elizabeth

Elizabeth became more particularly acquainted than before with our Author's Writings.

HE was here a more successful Lover than when he courted *Rosalind*. The Collection of his *Sonnets* are a kind of a short History of the Progress of a new Amour, which we find ended in Marriage, and gave Occasion to an excellent *Epithalamium*, which no one could so well write as himself.

IN this pleasant Situation he finished his celebrated Poem of the *Fairy Queen*, which was begun and continu'd at different Intervals of Time; and of which he at first publish'd only the three first Books. To these were added three more in a following Edition; but the six last Books (excepting the two Canto's of *Mutability*) were unfortunately lost by his Servant, whom he had in haste sent before him into *England*. For tho he pass'd his Life for some time very serenely here, yet a Train of Misfortunes still pursu'd him; and in the Rebellion of the Earl of *Desmond*, he was plundered and deprived of

of his Estate. This forc'd him to return to *England*, where his Afflictions were doubled by the want of his best Friend, the brave Sir *Philip Sidney*, who dy'd some Years before of the Wounds he had receiv'd in an Action near *Zutphen* in the *Netherlands*.

SPENSER surviv'd his beloved Patron about twelve Years, but seems to have spent the latter part of that Time with much Grief of Heart, under the Disappointment of a broken Fortune. It is remarkable that he dy'd the same Year with his powerful Enemy the Lord *Burleigh*, which was in 1598. He was buried in *Westminster* Abby, near the famous *Geoffry Chaucer*, as he had desired. His Obsequies were attended by the Poets of that Time, and others, who paid the last Honours to his Memory. Several Copies of Verses were thrown after him into his Grave; and his Monument was erected at the Charge of the famous *Robert Devereux*, the unfortunate Earl of *Essex*; the Stone of which it is made, is much broken and defac'd: the Inscription on it is as follows.

“ HEARE

" HEARE lyes (expecting the second
 " Cominge of our Saviour Christ Iesus)
 " the Body of *Edmond Spencer*, the Prince
 " of Poets in his Tyme; whose divine
 " Spirit needs noe other Witness, than
 " the Works which he left behind him.
 " He was born in *London* in the Yeare
 " 1510, and died in the Yeare 1596."

It is observable that this differs from
Camden's Account of his Death, who
 says it was in 1598, in the Forty first
 Year of the Queen's Reign. But this
 Epitaph is, I doubt, yet less to be de-
 pended upon for the Time of our Au-
 thor's Birth; in which there must have
 been a very gross Mistake. It is by no
 means probable that he was born so ear-
 ly as 1510, if we judge only by so remark-
 able a Circumstance as that of his stand-
 ing for a Fellowship in Competition with
 Mr. *Andrews*, who was not born till
 1555. Besides, if this Account of his
 Birth were true, he must have been a-
 bove sixty Years old when he first pub-
 lish'd his *Shepherd's Calendar*, an Agenot
 the most proper for Love-Poetry; and
 in

MR. EDMUND SPENSER. xvii

in his seventieth Year, when he enter'd into Business under the Lord Grey, who was created Deputy of *Ireland* in 1580. For these Reasons, I think, we may certainly conclude, either that this Inscription is false, by the Error of the Carver, which may seem the more probable, because the Spelling likewise is very bad even for that Time; or that it was put in some time afterwards, when the Monument perhaps was repair'd, and is wholly different from the Original one; which indeed is mentioned by Dr. *Fuller*, and others *, to have been in *Latin*. In a little *Latin* Treatise, describing the Monuments of *Westminster* in the Year 1600, publish'd, as is suppos'd, by Mr. *Camden*, I find the following Account of it.

Edmundus Spenser, Londinensis, Anglicorum Poetarum nostri seculi facile Princeps, quod ejus poemata, faventibus Musis & victuro Genio conscripta, comprobant. Obiit immatura morte, Anno salutis 1598, & prope

* Vid. *Kep's Monumenta Westmonast.*

Galfredum Chaucerum conditur, qui fœliciffime Poesin Anglicis Literis primus illustravit. In quem hæc scripta sunt Epitaphia.

“ *Hic prope Chaucerum fitus est Spenserius,*
illi

“ *Proximus ingenio, proximus ut tumulo.*

“ *Hic prope Chaucerum Spensere Poeta Po-*
etam

“ *Conderis, & versu quam tumulo propior;*

“ *Anglica, te vivo, vixit plaustiq; Poesis;*

“ *Nunc moritura timet, te moriente,*
mori.”

THE Absurdity of supposing our Author born in 1510, appears yet further by the Expression *immatura morte*, which is here us'd, and cou'd not have been very proper, if apply'd to a Man who had dy'd at eighty-eight Years of Age. *Winstanley* and some others have transcrib'd this whole Passage as his Epitaph, not considering that the Prose is only an Eulogy on him, and not a Monumental Inscription. The Reader will likewise observe that the Verses are two distinct Epitaphs; of which, the first and second

Couplets

Couplets are but the same Thought differently express'd. In the last Couplet it is not improbable the Author might have in his eye those celebrated Lines written by Cardinal Bembo on *Raphael d' Urbis*.

“ *Ille hic est Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci*

“ *Rerum magna Parens, & moriente meri.*”

I WISH I cou'd give the Publick a more perfect Account of a Man whose Works have so justly recommended him to the Esteem of all the Lovers of *English* Poetry. Besides those Pieces of his which have been preserv'd, we find he had written several others, of which we can now only trace out the Titles. Among these, the most considerable were *Nine Comedies*, in Imitation of the Comedies of his admir'd *Ariosto*, inscrib'd with the Names of the Nine Muses. The rest, which are mention'd in his Letters, and those of his Friends, are his *Dying Pelicane*, his *Pageants*, *Stemmata Dudleyana*, *The Canticles Paraphras'd*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Seven Psalms*, *Hours of our Lord*, *Sacrifice of a Sinner*, *Purgatory*, *A Sennight's Slumber*,

ber, *The Court of Cupid*, and *The Hell of Lovers*. It is likewise said he had written a Treatise in Prose, call'd *The English Poet*. As for the *Epithalamion Thamesis*, and his *Dreams* both mention'd by himself in one of his Letters, I cannot but think they are still preserv'd, tho' under different Names. It appears from what is said of the *Dreams* by his Friend Mr. Harvey, that they were an Imitation of Petrarch's *Visions*; and it is therefore probable, they are the same which were afterwards publish'd under the several Titles of *Visions of the World's Vanity*, *Bellay's Visions*, *Petrarch's Visions*, &c. And tho' by one of his Letters we find our Author had form'd the Plan of a Poem, call'd *Epithalamion Thamesis*, and design'd, after a Fashion then newly introduc'd, to have written it in *English Hexameters*; yet whoever observes the Account he gives of it there, and compares it with the Eleventh Canto of the Fourth Book of the *Fairy Queen*, will see reason to believe, that he suspended his first Thought, and wrought it afterwards into that beautiful Episode of *the Marriage of the Thames and the Medway*, which

which is so great an Ornament to that Book. And this will appear yet the more probable, if it be consider'd that, with all its Beauty, that Episode is no essential Part of the Poem, but is rather an Excrecence or a Digression from it.

I FIND no Account of the Family which *Spencer* left behind him, only that, in the few Particulars of his Life prefix'd to the last folio Edition of his works, it is said that his great Grandson *Hugolin Spencer*, after the Return of King *Charles* the Second, was restor'd by the Court of *Claims* to so much of the Lands as cou'd be found to have been his Ancestors; whether this were true or not, I cannot determine; but I think I ought not to omit mentioning another very remarkable Passage, of which I can give the Reader much better Assurance; That a person came over from *Ireland*, in King *William's* Reign, to solicit the same affair, and brought with him Letters of Recommendation as a descendant of *Spencer*. His Name procured him a favourable Reception; and he apply'd himself particularly to Mr. *Congreve* by whom
he

he was generously recommended to the Favour of the late Earl of *Hallifax*, who was then at the Head of the Treasury; and by that Means he obtain'd his Suit. This Man was somewhat advanc'd in Years, and might be the same mention'd before, who had possibly recover'd only some Part of the Estate at first, or had been disturb'd in the Possession of it. He could give no Account of the Works of his Ancestor, which are wanting, and which are therefore in all Probability irrecoverably lost.

A

V I E W

O F T H E

State of I R E L A N D.

Eudox. **B**UT if that Countrey of *Ireland*, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a Soil, as you report, I wonder that no Course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that Nation to better Government and Civility.

Iren. Marry so there have been divers good Plots devised, and wise Counsels cast already about Reformation of that Realm ; but they say, it is the fatal Destiny of that Land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, will prosper or take good effect : which, whether it proceed from the very *Genius* of the Soil, or Influence of the Stars, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her Reformation,

A

mation, or that he reserveth her in this unquiet State still, for some secret Scourge, which shal by her come unto *England*, it is hard to be known, but yet much to be feared.

Eudox. Surely I suppose this but a vain Conceit of simple Men, which judge things by their Effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather think the cause of this Evil, which hangeth upon that Countrey, to proceed rather of the Unsoundness of the Counsels and Plots which you say have been oftentimes laid for the Reformation, or of Faintness in following and effecting the same, than of any such fatal Course appointed of God, as you misdeem: but it is the manner of Men, that when they are fallen into any Absurdity, or their Actions succeed not as they would, they are always ready to impute the blame thereof unto the Heavens, so to excuse their own Follies and Imperfections. So have I heard it often wished also (even of some whose great Wifdoms in Opinion should seem to judge more soundly of so weighty a Consideration) that all that Land were a Sea-pool: Which kind of Speech, is the manner rather of desperate Men far driven, to wish the utter Ruine of that which they cannot redress, than of grave Counsellors, which ought to think nothing so hard, but that through Wifdom it may be mastered and subdued; since the *Poet* saith, that *the Wise-man shall rule even over the Stars*, much more over the Earth: for were it not the part of a desperate Physician,

STATE OF IRELAND. 3

Physician, to wish his diseased Patient dead, rather than to apply the best endeavour of his Skill for his recovery? But since we are so far entred, let us, I pray you, a little devise of those Evils, by which that Countrey is held in this wretched Case, that it cannot (as you say) be recured. And if it be not painful to you, tell us what things, during your late continuance there, you observed to be most offensive, and greatest Impeachment to the good Rule and Government thereof.

Iren. Surely *Eudox*, the Evils which you desire to be recounted are very many, and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of *Pandora*. But since you please, I will out of that infinite number, reckon but some that are most capital, and commonly occurrent both in the Life and Conditions of private Men; as also in the managing of publick Affairs and Policy, the which you shall understand to be of divers Natures, as I observed them: For some of them are of very great Antiquity and Continuance; others more late and of less indurance; others daily growing and increasing continually by their evil Occasions, which are every day offered.

Eudox. Tell me then, I pray you, in the same Order that you have now rehearsed them; for there can be no better Method than this which the very matter itself offereth. And when you

A VIEW of the

have reckoned all the Evils, let us hear your Opinion for the redressing of them : After which, there will perhaps of itself appear some reasonable way to settle a sound and perfect Rule of Government, by shunning the former Evils, and following the offered Good. The which Method we may learn of the wise Physicians, which first require that the Malady be known thoroughly and discovered ; afterwards to teach how to cure and redress it : And lastly do prescribe a Diet with straight Rule and Orders to be daily observed, for fear of Relapse into the former Disease, or falling into some other more dangerous than it.

Iren. I will then according to your advisement begin to declare the Evils, which seem to me most hurtful to the Common-weal of that Land ; and first those (I say) which were most antient and long grown ; and they also are of three sorts : The first in the Laws, the second in Customs, and the last in Religion.

Eudox. Why, *Ireneus*, can there be any Evil in the Laws ? Can things which are ordained for the good and safety of all, turn to the evil and hurt of them ? This well I wote both in that State, and in all other, that were they not contained in Duty with fear of Law, which restraineth Offences, and inflicteth sharp Punishment to Misdoers, no Man should enjoy any thing ; every Man's Hand would be against another.

Therefore

Therefore in finding fault with the Laws, I doubt me; you shall much over-shoot yourself, and make me the more dislike your other Dislikes of that Government.

Iren. The Laws, *Eudox.* I do not blame for themselves; knowing right well that all Laws are ordained for the good of the Common-weal, and for repressing of Licentiousness and Vice: but it falleth out in Laws, no otherwise than it doth in Physick, which was at first devised, and is yet daily meant, and ministred for the Health of the Patient. But nevertheless we often see, that either through ignorance of the Disease, or through unseasonableness of the time, or other Accidents coming between, instead of good it worketh hurt, and out of one Evil, throweth the Patient into many Miseries. So the Laws were at first intended for the Reformation of Abuses, and peaceable continuance of the Subject; but are sithence either disannulled, or quite prevaricated through Change and Alteration of Times, yet are they good still in themselves: but in that Commonwealth which is ruled by them, they work not that good which they should, and sometimes also that evil which they would not.

Eudox. Whether do you mean this by the Common-Laws of that Realm, or by the Statute Laws, and Acts of Parliaments?

Iren. Surely by them both ; for even the Common-Law being that which *William of Normandy* brought in with his Conquest, and laid upon the Neck of *England*, though perhaps it fitted well with the State of *England* then being, and was readily obeyed through the power of the Commander, which had before subdued the People unto him, and made easie way to the settling of his Will ; yet with the State of *Ireland* peradventure it doth not so well agree, being a People very stubborn and untamed ; or if it were ever tamed, yet now lately having quite shook off their Yoak, and broken the Bonds of their Obedience. For *England* (before the Entrance of the Conqueror) was a peaceable Kingdom, and but lately inured to the mild and goodly Government of *Edward* surnamed the Confessor ; besides now lately grown into a loathing and detestation of the unjust and tyrannous Rule of *Harold* an Usurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reasonable Conditions, and order of the new Victor, thinking surely that it could be no worse than the latter, and hoping well it would be as good as the former : yet what the proof of first bringing in and establishing of those Laws was, was to many full bitterly made known. But with *Ireland* it is far otherwise, for it is a Nation ever acquainted with Wars, though but amongst themselves, and in their own kind of Military Discipline trained up ever from their Youths ;
which

which they have never yet been taught to lay aside, nor made to learn Obedience unto Laws, scarcely to know the name of Law, but instead thereof have always preserved and kept their own Law, which is the *Brehon* Law.

Eudox. What is that which you call the *Brehon* Law? it is a Word unto us altogether unknown.

Iren. It is a Rule of Right unwritten, but delivered by Tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great shew of Equity, in determining the Right between Party and Party, but in many things repugning quite both to God's Law, and Man's: As for Example, in the case of Murder, the *Brehon*, that is their Judge, will compound between the Murderer, and the Friends of the Party murdered, which prosecute the Action, that the Malefactor shall give unto them, or to the Child, or Wife of him that is slain, a Recompence, which they call an *Eriach*: By which vile Law of theirs, many Murders amongst them are made up, and smothered. And this Judge being (as he is called) the Lord's *Brehon*, adjudgeth for the most part a better share unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the Soil, or the Head of that Sept, and also unto himself for his Judgment a greater Portion, than unto the Plaintiffs or Parties aggrieved.

Eudox. This is a most wicked Law indeed ; but I trust it is not now used in *Ireland*, since the Kings of *England* have had the absolute Dominion thereof, and establish their own Laws there.

Iren. Yes truly, for there be many wide Countries in *Ireland*, which the Laws of *England* were never established in, nor any acknowledgment of Subjection made ; and also even in those which are subdued, and seem to acknowledge Subjection, yet the same *Brehon* Law is practised among themselves, by reason, that dwelling as they do, whole Nations and Septs of the *Irish* together, without any *Englishman* among them, they may do what they list, and compound or altogether conceal amongst themselves their own Crimes, of which no notice can be had by them, which would and might amend the same, by the Rule of the Laws of *England*.

Eudox. What is this which you say ? And is there any part of that Realm or any Nation therein, which have not yet been subdued to the Crown of *England* ? Did not the whole Realm universally accept and acknowledge our late Prince of famous Memory *Henry VIII.* for their only King and Liege Lord ?

Iren.

Iren. Yes verily : In a Parliament holden in the time of Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger* then Lord Deputy, all the *Irish* Lords and Principal Men came in, and being by fair means wrought thereunto, acknowledged King *Henry* for their Sovereign Lord, reserving yet (as some say) unto themselves all their own former Privileges and Seigniories inviolate.

Eudox. Then by that acceptance of his Sovereignty they also accepted of his Laws. Why then should any other Laws be now used amongst them?

Iren. True it is that thereby they bound themselves to his Laws and Obedience, and in case it had been followed upon them, as it should have been, and a Government thereupon settled among them agreeable thereunto, they should have been reduced to perpetual Civility, and contained in continual Duty. But what boots it to break a Colt, and to let him straight run loose at random? So were these People at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledge Allegiance to the Kings of *England*: but being straight left unto themselves and their own inordinate Life and Manners, they ere long forgot what before they were taught, and so soon as they were out of sight, by themselves shook off their Bridles, and began to colt anew, more licentiously than before.

Eudox. It is a great pity, that so good an Opportunity was omitted, and so happy an Occasion fore-slacked, that might have been the eternal Good of the Land. But do they not still acknowledge that Submission?

Iren. No, they do not: for now the Heirs and Posterity of them which yielded the same, are (as they say) either ignorant thereof, or do wilfully deny, or stedfastly disavow it.

Eudox. How can they so do justly? Doth not the Act of the Parent, in any lawful Grant or Conveyance, bind their Heirs for ever thereunto? Sith then the Ancestors of those that now live, yielded themselves then Subjects and Liegemen, shall it not tye their Children to the same Subjection?

Iren. They say no: for their Ancestors had no Estate in any their Lands, Seigniories, or Hereditaments, longer than during their own Lives, as they alledge: for all the *Irish* do hold their Land by *Tanistry*; which is (say they) no more but a personal Estate for his Life-time that is *Tanist*, by reason that he is admitted thereunto by Election of the Country.

Eudox. What is this which you call *Tanist* and *Tanistry*? They be Names and Terms never heard of nor known to us.

Iren.

Tanistry

Iren. It is a Custom amongst all the *Irish*, that presently after the Death of any of their chief Lords or Captains, they do presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed and known unto them to choose another in his stead, where they do nominate and elect for the most part, not the eldest Son, nor any of the Children of the Lord deceased, but the next to him of Blood, that is the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next Brother unto him, if he have any, or the next Cousin, or so forth, as any is elder in that Kindred or Sept: and then next to him do they choose the next of the Blood to be *Tanist*, who shall next succeed him in the said Captainry, if he live thereunto.

Eudox. Do they not use any Ceremony in this Election? for all barbarous Nations are commonly great Observers of Ceremonies and Superstitious Rites.

Iren. They use to place him that shall be their Captain, upon a Stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a Hill: In some of which I have seen formed and ingraven a Foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captain's Foot, whereon he standing, received an Oath to preserve all the antient former Customs of the Countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the Succession peaceably

to

to his *Tanist*; and then hath a Wand delivered unto him by some whose proper Office that is: after which, descending from the Stone, he turneth himself round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.

Eudox. But how is the *Tanist* chosen?

Iren. They say he setteth but one Foot upon the Stone, and receiveth the like Oath that the Captain did.

Eudox. Have you ever heard what was the occasion and first beginning of this Custom? for it is good to know the same, and may perhaps discover some secret meaning and intent therein, very material to the State of that Government.

Iren. I have heard that the beginning and cause of this Ordinance amongst the *Irish*, was specially for the defence and maintenance of their Lands in their Posterity, and for excluding all Innovation or Alienation thereof unto Strangers, and specially to the *English*. For when their Captain dieth, if the Seignorie should descend to his Child, and he perhaps an Infant, another peradventure would step in between, or thrust him out by strong hand, being then unable to defend his Right, or to withstand the Force of a Foreigner; and therefore they do appoint the
c'dest:

eldest of the Kin to have the Seigniorie, for that he commonly is a Man of stronger Years, and better Experience to maintain the Inheritance, and to defend the Country, either against the next bordering Lords which use commonly to encroach one upon another, as one is stronger; or against the *English*, which they think lie still in wait to wipe them out of their Lands and Territories. And to this end, the *Tanist* is always ready known, if it should happen the Captain suddenly to die, or to be slain in Battle, or to be out of the Country, to defend and keep it from all such Doubts and Dangers. For which cause the *Tanist* hath also a share of the Country allotted unto him, and certain cuttings and spendings upon all the Inhabitants under the Lord.

Eudox. When I heard this word *Tanist*, it bringeth to my remembrance what I have read of *Tania*, that it should signify a Province or Seigniorie, as *Aquitania*, *Lusitania* and *Britannia*, the which some think to be derived of *Dania*, that is, from the *Danes*; but, I think, amiss. But sure it seemeth, that it came anciently from those barbarous Nations that over-ran the World, which possessed those Dominions, whereof they are now so called. And so it may well be, that from thence the first Original of this word *Tanist* and *Tanistry* came, and the Custom thereof hath since, as many others else, been continued. But to that general subjection of the Land
whereof.

whereof we formerly spake, meseems that this Custom or Tenure can be no Bar nor Impeachment, seeing that in open Parliament by their said Acknowledgement they waved the Benefit thereof, and submitted themselves to the Benefit of their new Sovereign.

Iren. Yea, but they say, as I earst told you, that they reserved their Titles, Tenures and Seigniories whole and sound to themselves; and for proof alledge, that they have ever sithence remained to them untouched, so as now to alter them, should (say they) be a great wrong.

Eudox. What Remedy is there then, or means to avoid this Inconveniency? for without first cutting off this dangerous Custom, it seemeth hard to plant any sound Ordinance, or reduce them to a civil Government, since all their ill Customs are permitted unto them.

Iren. Surely nothing hard: for by this Act of Parliament whereof we speak, nothing was given to King *Henry* which he had not before from his Ancestors, but only the bare Name of a King; for all other absolute Power of Principality he had in himself before derived from many former Kings, his famous Progenitours and worthy Conquerours of that Land. The which sithence they first conquered and by force subdued unto them, what needed afterwards to enter into any such idle Terms with them to be called

called their King, when it is in the power of the Conquerour to take upon himself what Title he will, over his Dominions conquered? For all is the Conquerour's, as *Tully* to *Brutus* saith. Therefore (meseems) instead of so great and meritorious a Service as they boast they performed to the King, in bringing all the *Irish* to acknowledge him for their Liege, they did great hurt unto his Title, and have left a perpetual Gall in the Mind of the People; who before being absolutely bound to his Obedience, are now tyed but with Terms: whereas else both their Lives, their Lands, and their Liberties were in his free Power to appoint what Tenures, what Laws, what Conditions he would over them, which were all his: against which there could be no rightful Resistance, or if there were, he might when he would establish them with a stronger Hand.

Eudox. Yea, but perhaps it seemed better unto that noble King to bring them by their own accord to his Obedience, and to plant a peaceable Government amongst them, than by such violent Means to pluck them under. Neither yet hath he thereby lost any thing that he formerly had; for having all before absolutely in his own Power, it remaineth so still unto him, he having thereby neither forgiven, nor forgone any thing thereby unto them, but having received something from them, that is, a more voluntary

luntary and loyal Subjection. So as Her Majesty may yet, when it shall please Her, alter any thing of those former Ordinances, or appoint other Laws, that may be more both for her own behoof, and for the good of that People.

Iren. Not so: for it is not so easie, now that things are grown unto an Habit, and have their certain Course, to change the Channel, and turn their Streams another way: for they have now a colorable Pretence to withstand innovations, having accepted of other Laws and Rules already.

Eudox. But you say they do not accept of them, but delight rather to lean to their old Customs and *Brehon* Laws, though they be more unjust and also more inconvenient for the common People, as by your late Relation of them I have gathered. As for the Laws of *England*, they are surely most just and most agreeable; both with the Government and with the Nature of the People. How falls it then that you seem to dislike of them, as not so meet for that Realm of *Ireland*; and not only the common Law, but also the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, which were specially provided and intended for the only Benefit thereof?

Iren.

Iren. I was about to have told you my Reason therein, but that yourself drew me away with other Questions, for I was shewing you by what means, and by what sort, the Positive Laws were first brought in and established by the *Norman Conquerour* ; which were not by him devised, nor applyed to the State of the Realm then being, nor as yet might best be (as should by Law-givers principally be regarded) but were indeed the very Laws of his own Country of *Normandy*. The Condition whereof, how far it differeth from this of *England*, is apparent to every least Judgment. But to transfer the same Laws for the governing of the Realm of *Ireland*, was much more inconvenient and unmeet ; for he found a better advantage of the time, than was in the planting of them in *Ireland*, and followed the Execution of them with more severity, and was also present in Person to overlook the Magistrates, and to over-awe these Subjects with the Terrour of his Sword, and Countenance of his Majesty. But not so in *Ireland*, for they were otherwise affected, and yet do so remain : so as the same Laws (me seems) can ill fit with their Disposition, or work that Reformation that is wished, For Laws ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the People, to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple Rule of Right ; for then (as I said) instead of Good they may work ill, and pervert Justice
to.

to extream Injustice. For he that transfers the Laws of the *Lacedemonians* to the People of *Athens*, should find a great Absurdity and Inconvenience. For those Laws of *Lacedemon* were devised by *Lycurgus*, as most proper and best agreeing with that People, whom he knew to be enclined altogether to Wars; and therefore wholly trained them up even from their Cradles in Arms and Military Exercises; clean contrary to the Institution of *Solon*; who in his Laws to the *Athenians* laboured by all means to temper their warlike Courages with sweet Delights of Learning and Sciences; so that as much as the one excelled in Arms, the other exceeded in Knowledge. The like Regard and Moderation ought to be had in tempering and managing this stubborn Nation of the *Irish*, to bring them from their Delight of licentious Barbarism unto the Love of Goodness and Civility.

Eudox. I cannot see how that may better be, than by the Discipline of the Laws of *England*: for the *English* were at first, as stout and warlike a People as ever the *Irish*, and yet you see are now brought unto that Civility, that no Nation in the World excelleth them in all goodly Conversation, and all the Studies of Knowledge and Humanity.

Iren. What they now be, both you and I see very well; but by how many thorny and hard ways

ways they are come thereunto, by how many civil Broils, by how many tumultuous Rebellions, that even hazarded oftentimes the whole Safety of the Kingdom, may easily be considered : all which they nevertheless fairly overcame, by reason of the continual Presence of their King; whose only Person is oftentimes instead of an Army, to contain the unruly People from a thousand evil Occasions, which this wretched Kingdom for want thereof is daily carried into. The which, whenever they make head, no Laws, no Penalties can restrain, but that they do in the violence of that Fury, tread down and trample under foot all both Divine and Human Things; and the Laws themselves they do specially rage at, and rend in pieces, as most repugnant to their Liberty and natural Freedom, which in their Madnes they effect.

Eudox. It is then a very unreasonable time to plead Law, when Swords are in the Hands of the Vulgar, or to think to retain them with fear of Punishment, when they look after Liberty, and shake off all Government.

Iren. Then so it is with Ireland continually, *Eudoxus*; for the Sword was never yet out of their Hand: but when they are weary of Wars, and brought down to extream Wretchedness, then they creep a little perhaps, and sue for Grace, till they have gotten new Breath, and recovered their Strength again. So as it is in
vain.

vain to speak of planting Laws, and plotting Policy, till they be altogether subdued.

Eudox. Were they not so at the first: conquering of them by *Strongbow*, in the time of King *Henry* the Second? Was there not a thorough way then made by the Sword, for the imposing of the Laws upon them? and were they not then executed with such a mighty Hand as you said was used by the *Norman Conquerour*? What odds is there then in this case? why should not the same Laws take as good effect on that People as they did here, being in like sort prepared by the Sword, and brought under by Extremity? And why should they not continue in as good Force and Vigour for the containing of the People?

Iren. The Case yet is not like, but there appeareth great odds between them; for by the Conquest of *Henry* II. true it is that the *Irish* were utterly vanquished and subdued, so as no Enemy was able to hold up head against his Power: in which their Weakness he brought in his Laws, and settled them as now they there remain, like as *William* the Conquerour did; so as in thus much they agree, but in the rest, that is the chiefest, they vary. For to whom did King *Henry* the II. impose those Laws? not to the *Irish* for the most part of them fled from his Power into Desarts and Mountains, leaving the wide Country to the Conquerour; who.

who in their stead eftfoons placed *Englishmen*, who poffeffed all their Lands, and did quite fhut out the *Irish*, or the moft part of them. And to thofe new Inhabitants and Colonies, he gave his Laws, to wit, the fame Law, under which they were born and bred; the which it was no difficulty to place amongft them, being formerly well inured thereunto, unto whom afterwards there repaired divers of the poor diftreffed People of the *Irish* for Succour and Relief: of whom, fuch as they thought fit for Labour, and induftrioufly difpofed, as the moft part of their bafeft fort are, they received unto them as their Vaffals, but fcarcely vouchsafed to impart unto them the Benefit of thofe Laws under which themfelves lived, but every one made his Will and Commandment a Law unto his own Vaffal. Thus was not the Law of *England* ever properly applied unto the *Irish* Nation, as by a purpofed Plot of Government, but as they could infinuate and ftéal themfelves under the fame, by their humble Carriage and Submiffion.

Eudox. How comes it then to pafs, that having been once fo low brought, and thoroughly fubjected, they afterwards lifted up themfelves fo ftrongly again, and fithence do ftand fo ftiffly againft all Rule and Government?

Iren. They fay that they continued in that Lowlinefs, until the time that the Divifion between the two Houfes of *Launcefter* and *York* arofe

arose for the Crown of *England*: At which time all the great *English* Lords and Gentlemen, which had great Possessions in *Ireland*, repaired over hither into *England*, some to succour their Friends here, and to strengthen their Party for to obtain the Crown; others to defend their Lands and Possessions here against such as hoverde after the same, upon hope of the Alteration of the Kingdom, and Success of that Side which they favoured and affected. Then the *Irish*, whom before they had banished into the Mountains, where they lived only upon whitt Meats, as it is recorded; seeing now their Lands so dispeopled and weakened, came down into all the Plains adjoining; and thence expelling those few *English* that remained, repossessed them again: since which they have remained in them, and growing greater, have brought under them many of the *English*, which were before their Lords. This was one of the Occasions by which all those Countrys, which lying near unto any Mountains or *Irish* Defarts, had been planted with *English*, were shortly displanted and lost. As namely in *Mounster*, all the Lands adjoining unto *Slewlogher*, *Arlo*, and the Bog of *Allen*. In *Connaught*, all the Countries bordering upon the *Curlues*, *Mointerolis*, and *Orourkes* Country. In *Leinster*, all the Lands bordering unto the Mountains of *Glanmalour*, unto *Shillelab*, unto the *Brackenah*, and *Polmonte*. In *Ulster*, all the Countrys near unto *Tirconnel*, *Tyrone*, and the *Scots*.

Eudox.

Eudox. Surely this was a great Violence : But yet by your speech it seemeth that only the Countreys and Valleys near adjoining unto those Mountains and Defarts were thus recovered by the *Irish*. But how comes it now that we see almost all that Realm repossessed of them? Were there any more such evil Occasions growing by the Troubles of *England*? Or did the *Irish*, out of those Places so by them gotten, break further, and stretch themselves out thorough the whole Land? For now, for ought that I can understand, there is no part but the bare *English-Pale*, in which the *Irish* have not the greatest footing.

Iren. But out of these small Beginnings by them gotten near to the Mountains, did they spread themselves into the Inland, and also to their further Advantage, there did other like unhappy Accidents happen out of *England*, which gave Heart and good Opportunity to them to regain their old Possessions : For in the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, things remained yet in the same State that they were after the late breaking out of the *Irish*, which I spake of ; and that noble Prince began to cast an Eye unto *Ireland* ; and to mind the Reformation of things there run amiss. For he sent over his Brother, the worthy Duke of *C'arence* ; who having married the Heir of the Earl of *Ulster*, and by her having all the Earldom of *Ulster*, and much in
Meath

Meath and in *Mounster*, very carefully went about the redressing of all those late Evils: and though he could not beat out the *Irish* again, by reason of his short continuance, yet he did shut them up within those narrow Corners and Glyns, under the Mountains foot, in which they lurked: and so kept them from breaking any further, by building strong Holds upon every Border, and fortifying all Passages. Amongst the which, he repaired the Castle of *Clare* in *Thomond*, of which Country he had the Inheritance, and of *Mortimer's* Lands adjoining; which is now (by the *Irish*) called *Killaloe*. But the times of that good King growing also troublesome, did lett the thorough Reformation of all things. And thereunto, soon after, was added another fatal Mischiefe, which wrought a greater Calamity than all the former. For the said Duke of *Clarence*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was by practise of evil Persons about the King his Brother, called thence away; and soon after, by sinister means was clean made away. Presently after whose Death, all the North revolting, did set up *O-Neal* for their Captain, being before that of small Power and Regard; and there arose in that part of *Thomond*, one of the *O-Brians*, called *Murrough en Ranagh*: that is *Morrice* of the *Fern*, or waste wild Places; who gathering unto him all the Reliques of the discontented *Irish*, estoons surprised the said Castle of *Clare*, burnt and spoyled all the *English* there dwelling;

dwelling; and in short space, possessed all that Country, beyond the River of *Shanan*, and near adjoyning. Whence shortly breaking forth like a sudden Tempest, he over-ran all *Mounster* and *Connaught*; breaking down all the Holds and Fortresses of the *English*, defacing and utterly subverting all corporate Towns, that were not strongly walled: For those, he had no Means nor Engines to overthrow, neither indeed would he stay at all about them, but speedily ran forward, counting his Suddenness his most Advantage, that he might overtake the *English* before they could fortify or gather themselves together. So in short space he clean wiped out many great Towns, as first *Inchequin*, then *Killaloe*, before called *Clarisford*, also *Thurles*, *Mourne*, *Buttevant*, and many others, whose Names I cannot remember, and of some of which there is now no Memory or Sign remaining. Upon report whereof, there flocked unto him all the Scum of the *Irish* out of all Places, that e'er long he had a mighty Army, and thence marched forth into *Leinster*, where he wrought great Out-rages, wasting all the Country where he went; for it was his Policy to leave no Hold behind him, but to make all plain and waste. In the which he soon after created himself King, and was called King of all *Ireland*; which before him I do not read that any did so generally, but only *Edward le Bruce*.

Eudox. What? was there ever any general King of all *Ireland*? I never heard it before, but that it was always (whilst it was under the *Irish*) divided into four, and sometimes into five Kingdoms or Dominions. But this *Edward le Bruce*, what was he, that could make himself King of all *Ireland*.

Iren. I would tell you, in case you would not challenge me anon for forgetting the matter which I had in hand; that is, the Inconvenience and Unfitness which I supposed to be in the Laws of the Land.

Eudox. No surely, I have no Cause, for neither is this impertinent thereunto: for sithence you did set your Course (as I remember in your first Part) to treat of the Evils which hindred the Peace and Good-ordering of that Land; amongst which, that of the Inconvenience in the Laws, was the first which you had in hand; this Discourse of the Over-running and Wasting of the Realm, is very material thereunto, for that it was the beginning of all the other Evils which sithence have afflicted that Land, and opened a way unto the *Irish* to recover their Possession, and to beat out the *English* which had formerly won the same. And besides, it will give a great Light both unto the second and third Part; which is the redressing of those Evils, and planting

planting of some good Form or Policy therein, by renewing the remembrance of these Occasions and Accidents, by which those Ruins hapned; and laying before us the Ensamples of those Times, to be compared to ours, and to be warned by those which shall have to do in the like. Therefore I pray you tell them unto us; and as for the Point where you left, I will not forget afterwards to call you back again thereunto.

Iren. This *Edward le Bruce* was Brother of *Robert le Bruce*, who was King of *Scotland*, at such time as King *Edward* the Second reigned here in *England*, and bare a most malicious and spiteful Mind against King *Edward*, doing him all the Scathe that he could, and annoying his Territories of *England*, whilst he was troubled with Civil Wars of his Barons at Home. He also, to work him the more Mischief, sent over his said Brother *Edward* with a Power of *Scots* and *Red-shanks* into *Ireland*; where by the means of the *Lacies*, and of the *Irish*, with whom they combined, they got footing: and gathering unto him all the Scatterlings and Outlaws out of all the Woods and Mountains, in which they long had lurked, marched forth into the *English Pale*, which then was chiefly in the North from the Point of *Donluce*, and beyond, unto *Dublin*: Having in the midst of her, *Knockfergus*, *Belfast*, *Armagh*, and *Carlingford*; which are now the most Out-bounds and abandoned Places in the *English Pale*, and indeed

not counted of the *English Pale* at all ; for it stretcheth now no further than *Dundalk* towards the North. There the said *Edward le Bruce* spoiled and burnt all the old *English Pale* Inhabitants, and sacked and raised all Cities and Corporate Towns ; no less than *Murrough en Rannagh*, of whom I earst told you : For he wasted *Belfast*, *Green-Castle*, *Kelles*, *Belturbut*, *Castletown*, *Newton*, and many other very good Towns and strong Holds : He rooted out the noble Families of the *Audlies*, *Talbotts*, *Tuchets*, *Chamberlains*, *Maundeavills*, and the *Savages* out of *Ardes*, though of the Lord *Savage* there remaineth yet an Heir, that is now a poor Gentleman of very mean Condition, yet dwelling in the *Ardes*. And coming lastly to *Dundalke*, he there made himself King, and reigned the space of one whole Year ; until that *Edward* King of *England*, having some Quiet in his Affairs at Home, sent over the Lord *John Birmingham* to be General of the Wars against him ; who encountering him near to *Dundalke*, overthrew his Army, and slew him. Also he presently followed the Victory so hotly upon the *Scots*, that he suffered them not to breathe, or gather themselves together again, until they came to the Sea-Coast. Notwithstanding all the way that they fled, for very Rancor and Despight, in their return they utterly consumed and wasted whatsoever they had before left unspoiled ; so as of all Towns, Castles, Forts, Bridges and Habitations, they left

Bruce Sair

left not any Stick standing, nor any People remaining : for those few which yet survived, fled from their Fury further into the *English Pale* that now is. Thus was all that goodly Country utterly wasted. And sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet Country as any is under Heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly Rivers, replenish'd with all sorts of Fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet Islands and goodly Lakes, like little inland Seas, that will carry even Ships upon their Waters ; adorned with goodly Woods, even fit for Building of Houses and Ships, so commodiously, as that if some Princes in the World had them, they would soon hope to be Lords of all the Seas, and e'er long of all the World : Also full of very good Ports and Havens opening upon *England*, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent Commodities that Country can afford ; besides, the Soyl itself most fertile, fit to yield all kind of Fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the Heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the Parts towards the West.

Eudox. Truly *Iren.* what with your Praises of the Country, and what with your Discourse of the lamentable Desolation thereof made by those *Scots*, you have filled me with a great Compassion of their Calamities, that I do much pity that sweet Land, to be subject to so many Evils,

as I see more and more to be laid upon her, and do half begin to think, that it is (as you said at the Beginning) her fatal Misfortune, above all other Countrys that I know, to be thus miserably tossed and turmoyled with these variable Storms of Affliction. But since we are thus far entred into the Consideration of her Mishaps, tell me, have there been any more such Tempests as you term them, wherein she hath thus wretchedly been wrecked?

Iren. Many more, God wot, have there been; in which principal Parts have been rent and torn asunder, but none (as I can remember) so universal as this. And yet the Rebellion of *Thomas Fitz-Garret* did well-nigh stretch itself into all Parts of *Ireland*. But that which was in the time of the Government of the Lord *Grey*, was surely no less general than all those; for there was no Part free from the Contagion, but all conspired in one, to cast off their Subjection to the Crown of *England*. Nevertheless, thorough the most wise and valiant handling of that right noble Lord, it got not the Head which the former Evils found; for in them the Realm was left like a Ship in a Storm, amidst all the raging Surges, unrul'd and undirected of any: for they to whom she was committed, either fainted in their Labour, or forsook their Charge. But he (like a most wise Pilot) kept her Course carefully, and held her most strongly even against these roaring Billows, that he safely brought her
out

out of all; so as long after, even by the space of Twelve or Thirteen whole Years, she rode at peace, thorough his only Pains and excellent Indurance, however Envy list to blatter against him, But of this we shall have more occasion to speak in another place. Now (if you please) let us return again unto our first Course.

Eudox. Truly I am very glad to hear your Judgment of the Government of that honourable Man so soundly; for I have heard it oftentimes maligned, and his Doings depraved of some, who (I perceive) did rather of malicious Mind, or private Grievance, seek to detract from the Honour of his Deeds and Counsels, than of any just Cause: but he was nevertheless, in the Judgments of all good and wise Men, defended and maintained. And now that he is dead, his immortal Fame surviveth, and flourisheth in the Mouths of all people, that even those which did backbite him, are checked with their own Venom, and break their Galls to hear his so honourable Report. But let him rest in Peace, and turn we to our more troublesom Matters of Discourse, of which I am right sorry that you make so short an end, and covet to pass over to your former Purposes: for there be many other Parts of *Ireland* which I have heard have been no less vexed with the like Storms, than these which you have treated of; as the Countries of the *Birnes* and *Tooles* near *Dublin*, with the insolent Outrages and Spoils of *Feagh mac Hugh*; the

Counties of *Catherlagh*, *Wexford*, and *Waterford*, by the *Cavenaghcs*. The Countries of *Leix*, *Kilkenny*, and *Kildare*, by the *O Moores*. The Countries of *Ofaly* and *Langford*, by the *Connors*. The Countries of *Westmeath*, *Cavan*, and *Louth*, by the *O-Relyes*, and *Kellyes*, and many others. So as the discoursing of them, besides the Pleasure which would redound out of their History, be also very profitable for matters of Policy.

Iren. All this which you have named, and many more besides, oftentimes have I right well known, and yet often do kindle great Fires of tumultuous Broyles in the Countries bordering upon them. All which to rehearse, should rather be to chronicle Times, than to search into Reformation of Abuses in that Realm; and yet very needful it will be to consider them, and the Evils which they have often stirred up, that some Redress thereof, and prevention of the Evils to come, may thereby rather be devised. But I suppose we shall have a fitter Opportunity for the same, when we shall speak of the particular Abuses, and Enormities of the Government, which will be next after these general Defects and Inconveniences which I said were in the Laws, Customs, and Religion.

Eudox. Goe to them a God's name, and follow the Course which you have promised to yourself;

yourself ; for it fitteth best, I must confess, with the Purpose of our Discourse. Declare your Opinion, as you began, about the Laws of the Realm, what Incommodity you have conceived to be in them, chiefly in the common Law, which I would have thought most free from all such dislike.

Iren. The Common Law is (as I said before) of itself most rightful and very convenient (I suppose) for the Kingdom, for which it was first devised : for this (I think) as it seems reasonable, that out of your Manners of your People, and Abuses of your Countrey, for which they were invented, they take their first Beginning, or else they should be most unjust ; for no Laws of Man (according to the straight Rule of Right) are just, but as in regard of the Evils which they prevent, and the Safety of the Commonwealth which they provide for. As for example, in your true ballancing of Justice, it is a flat Wrong to punish the Thought or Purpose of any before it be enacted ; for true Justice punisheth nothing but the evil Act or wicked Word : that by the Laws of all Kingdoms it is a capital Crime to devise or purpose the Death of your King ; the reason is, for that when such a Purpose is effected, it should then be too late to devise thereof, and should turn the Commonwealth to more Loss by the Death of their Prince, than such Punishment of the Malefactors. And therefore the Law in that case punisheth the

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Thought; for better is a Mischief than an Inconvenience. So that *Jus politicum*, though it be not of itself just, yet by Application, or rather Necessity, it is made just; and this only Respect maketh all Laws just. Now then, if these Laws of *Ireland* be not likewise applied and fitted for that Realm, they are sure very inconvenient.

Eudox. You reason strongly: but what Unfitness do you find in them for that Realm? shew us some particulars.

Iren. The Common Law appointeth, that all Tryals, as well of Crimes, as Titles and Right, shall be made by verdict of a Jury, chosen out of the honest and most substantial Free-holders. Now, most of the Free-holders of that Realm are *Irish*, which when the Cause shall fall betwixt an *Englishman* and an *Irish*, or between the Queen and any Free-holder of that Countrey, they make no more Scruple to pass against an *Englishman* and the Queen, though it be to strain their Oaths, than to drink Milk unstrained. So that before the Jury go together, it is all to nothing what the Verdict shall be. The Tryal have I so often seen, that I dare confidently avouch the Abuse thereof. Yet is the Law of itself (as I said) good, and the first Institution thereof, being given to all *Englishmen* very rightfully; but now that the *Irish* have stepped into the very Rooms of our *English*, we are now to become heedful and provident in Juries.

Eudox.

Eudox. In sooth *Iren.* you have discovered a Point worthy Consideration : for hereby not only the *English* Subject findeth no Indifferency in deciding of his Cause, be it never so just ; but the Queen, as well in all Pleas of the Crown, as also in Inquiries for Escheats, Lands attainted, Wardships, Concealments, and all such like, is abused and exceedingly damaged.

Iren. You say very true ; for I dare undertake, that at this day there are more attainted Lands concealed from her Majesty, than she hath now possessions in all *Ireland*. And it is no small Inconvenience : for, besides that she loseth so much Land as should turn to her great Profit, she besides loseth so many good Subjects, which might be assured unto her, as those Lands would yield Inhabitants and Living unto.

Eudox. But do many of that People (say you) make no more Conscience to perjure themselves in their Verdicts, and damn their Souls ?

Iren. Not only so in their Verdicts, but also in all other their Dealings, especially with the *English*, they are most wilfully bent : for though they will not seem manifestly to do it, yet will some one or other subtle-headed Fellow amongst them, put some Quirk, or devise some Evasion, whereof the rest will likely take hold, and suffer

fer themselves easily to be led by him to that themselves desired. For in the most apparent Matter that may be, the least Question or Doubt that may be moved, will make a stop unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Besides, that of themselves (for the most part) they are so cautelous and wily-headed, especially being Men, of so small Experience, and Practice in Law-Matters, that you would wonder whence they borrow such Subtilties and sly Shifts.

Eudox. But me-thinks this Inconvenience might be much helped in the Judges and chief Magistrates, which have the choosing and nominating of those Jurors, if they would have dared to appoint either most *Englishmen*, or such *Irishmen* as were of the soundest Judgment and Disposition; for no doubt but some there be incorruptible.

Iren. Some there be indeed, as you say; but then would the *Irish* Party cry out of Partiality, and complain 'he hath no Justice, he is not used as a Subject, he is not suffered to have the free Benefit of the Law; and these Outcries the Magistrates there do much shun, as they have Cause, since they are readily hearkned unto here: neither can it be indeed, altho' the *Irish* Party would be so contented to be so compassed, that such *English* Free-holders, which are but few, and such faithful *Irishmen*, which
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are indeed as few, shall always be chosen for Tryals; for being so few, they should be made weary of their Free-holds. And therefore a good Care is to be had, by all good Occasions, to increase their Number, and to plant more by them. But were it so, that the Jurors could be pick'd out of such choice Men, as you desire, this would nevertheless be as bad a Corruption in the Tryal; for the Evidence being brought in by the baser *Irish* People, will be as deceitful as the Verdict: for they care much less than the others what they swear, and sure their Lords may compel them to say any thing; for I myself have heard, when one of the baser sort (which they call Churls) being challenged and reproved for his false Oath, hath answered confidently, that his Lord commanded him, and it was the least thing that he could do for his Lord, to swear for him: So unconscionable are these common People, and so little feeling have they of God, or their own Soul's Good.

Eudox. It is a most miserable Case; but what Help can there be in this? For though the Manner of their Trials should be altered, yet the Proof of every thing must needs be by the Testimony of such Persons as the Parties shall produce; which if they shall be corrupt, how can there ever any Light of the Truth appear? what Remedy is there for this Evil, but to make heavy Laws and Penalties against Jurors?

Iren.

Iren. I think sure that will do small Good; for when a People be inclined to any Vice, or have no touch of Conscience, nor Sense of their evil Doings, it is bootless to think to restrain them by any Penalties or Fear of Punishment, but either the Occasion is to be taken away, or a more understanding of the Right and Shame of the Fault to be imprinted. For if that *Lycurgus* should have made it Death for the *Lacedemonians* to steal, they being a People which naturally delighted in Stealth; or if it should be made a capital Crime for the *Flemmings* to be taken in Drunkenness; there should have been few *Lacedemonians* then left, and few *Flemmings* now. So impossible it is to remove any Fault so general in a People, with Terrour of Laws or most sharp Restraints.

Eudox. What Means may there be then to avoid this Inconvenience? for the Case seems very hard.

Iren. We are not yet come to the Point to devise Remedies for the Evils, but only have now to recount them; of the which, this which I have told you is one Defect in the Common Law.

Eudox. Tell us then (I pray you) further, have you any more of this sort in the Common Law?

Iren.

Iren. By Rehearsal of this, I remember also of another like, which I have often observed in Tryals, to have wrought great Hurt and Hindrance; and that is, the Exceptions which the Common Law alloweth a Felon in his Trial: for he may have (as you know) 56 Exceptions peremptory against the Jurors, of which he shalk shew no Cause. By which Shift there being (as I have shewed you) so small Store of honest Jurymen, he will either put off his Trial, or drive it to such Men as (perhaps) are not of the soundest sort; by whose Means, if he can acquit himself of the Crime, as he is likely, then will he plague such as were brought first to be of his Jury, and all such as made any Party against him: and when he comes forth, he will make their Cows and Garrons to walk, if he do no other Harm to their Persons.

Eudox. This is a sly Device, but I think might soon be remedied; but we must leave it a while to the rest. In the mean-while, do you go forwards with others.

Iren. There is another no less Inconvenience than this, which is, the Trial of Accessories to Felony; for by the Common Law, the Accessories cannot be proceeded against, till the Principal have received his Trial. Now to the Case, how it often falleth out in *Ireland*, that a Stealth being made by a Rebel, or an Out-law, the stolen Goods, are conveyed to some Husbandman or Gentleman,

man, which hath well to take to, and yet liveth most by the Receipt of such Stealths, where they are found by the Owner, and handled : Whereupon the Party is perhaps apprehended and committed to Goal, or put upon Sureties, till the Sessions ; at which time, the Owner preferring a Bill of Indictment, proveth sufficiently the Stealth to have been committed upon him by such an Out-law, and to have been found in the Possession of the Prisoner : against whom, nevertheless, no Course of Law can proceed, nor Trial can be had, for that the principal Thief is not to be gotten ; notwithstanding that he likewise standing perhaps indicted at once with the Receiver, being in Rebellion, or in the Woods where peradventure he is slain before he can be gotten, and so the Receiver clean acquitted and discharged of the Crime. By which means the Thieves are greatly encouraged to steal, and their Maintainers emboldned to receive their Stealths, knowing how hardly they can be brought to any Trial of Law.

Eudox. Tru'y this is a great Inconvenience, and a great Cause (as you say) of the Maintenance of Thieves, knowing their Receivers always ready ; for were there no Receivers, there would be no Thieves. But this (me seems) might easily be provided for by some Act of Parliament, that the Receiver being convicted by good Proofs, might receive his Trial without the Principal.

Irem

Iren. You say very well, *Eudox.* but that is almost impossible to be compassed: and herein also you discover another Imperfection in the Course of the Common Law, and first Ordinance of the Realm: for you know that the said Parliament must consist of the Peers, Gentlemen, Free-holders, and Burgessees of that Realm itself. Now these being perhaps themselves, or the most part of them (as may seem by their stiff withstanding of this Act) culpable of this Crime, or Favourers of their Friends, which are such, by whom their Kitchens are sometimes amended, will not suffer any such Statute to pass. Yet hath it oftentimes been attempted, and in the time of Sir *Jahn Parrat* very earnestly (I remember) laboured, but could by no means be effected. And not only this, but many others like, which are as needful for the Reformation of that Realm.

Eudox. This also is surely a great Defect, but we may not talk (you say) of the redressing of this, until our second Part come, which is purposely appointed thereunto. Therefore proceed to the recounting of more such Evils, if at least you have any more.

Iren There is also a great Inconvenience, which hath wrought great Damage, both to her Majesty, and to that Commonwealth, through close and colourable Conveyances of the Lands and Goods of Traytors, Felons, and Fugitives.

As when one of them mindeth to go into Rebellion, he will convey away all his Lands and Lordships, to Feoffees in Trust, whereby he reserveth to himself but a State for Term of Life; which being determined either by the Sword, or by the Halter, their Lands straight come to their Heir, and the Queen is defrauded of the Intent of the Law, which laid that grievous Punishment upon Traytors, to forfeit all their Lands to the Prince, to the end that Men might the rather be terrified from committing Treasons: for many which would little esteem of their own Lives, yet for Remorse of their Wives and Children would be withheld from that heinous Crime. This appeared plainly in the late Earl of *Desmond*. For before his breaking forth into open Rebellion, he had conveyed secretly all his Lands to Feoffees in Trust, in hope to have cut off her Majesty from the Escheat of his Lands.

Eudox. Yea, but that was well enough avoided, for the Act of Parliament which gave all his Lands to the Queen, did (as I have heard) cut off and frustrate all such Conveyances, as had at any time by the space of Twelve Years before his Rebellion, been made; within the Compass whereof, the fraudulent Feoffment, and many the like of others his Accomplices and Fellow-Traytors were contained.

Iren. Very true, but how hardly that act of Parliament was wrought out of them, I can witness;

ness; and were it to be passed again, I dare undertake it would never be compassed. But were it also that such acts might be easily brought to pass against Traytors and Felons, yet were it not an endless Trouble, that no Traytor or Felon should be attainted, but a Parliament must be called for bringing of his Lands to the Queen, which the common Law giveth her?

Eudox. Then this is no fault of the common law, but of the Persons which work this Fraud to her Majesty.

Iren. Yes, marry; for the common Law hath left them this Benefit, whereof they make Advantage, and wrest it to their bad Purposes: so as thereby they are the bolder to enter into evil Actions, knowing that if the worst befall them, they shall lose nothing but themselves; whereof they seem surely very careless.

Eudox. But what meant you of Fugitives herein? Or how doth this concern them?

Iren. Yes, very greatly; for you shall understand, that there be many ill disposed and undutiful Persons of that Realm, like as in this point there are also in this Realm of *England* too many, which being Men of good Inheritance, are for dislike of Religion, or Danger of the Law, into which they are run, or Discontent of the present Government, fled beyond the Seas, where they
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live under Princes which are her Majesty's profess'd Enemies ; and converse, and are Confederates with other Traytors and Fugitives which are there abiding. The which nevertheless have the Benefits and Profits of their Lands here, by Pretence of such colourable Conveyances thereof, formerly made by them unto their privy Friends here in Trust, who privily do send over unto them the said Revenues, wherewith they are there maintained and enabled against her Majesty.

Eudox. I do not think that there be any such Fugitives which are relieved by the Profit of their Lands in *England*, for there is a straighter Order taken. And if there be any such in *Ireland*, it were good it were likewise looked unto, for this Evil may easily be remedied. But proceed.

Iren. It is also inconvenient in the Realm of *Ireland*, that the Wards and Marriages of Gentlemen's Children should be in the disposition of any of those *Irish* Lords, as now they are, by reason that their Lands be held by Knights Service of those Lords. By which means it comes to pass, that those Gentlemen being thus in the Ward of those Lords, are not only thereby brought up lewdly, and *Irish-like* but also for ever after so bound to their Services, that they will run with them into any disloyal Action.

Eudox. This Grievance, *Iren.* is also complained of in *England*, but how can it be remedied ?

ed? since the Service must follow the Tenure of the Lands, and the Lands were given away by the Kings of *England* to those Lords, when they first conquered that Realm, and to say Truth, this also would be some Prejudice to the Prince in her Wardships.

Iren. I do not mean this by the Prince's Wards, but by such as fall into the Hands of the *Irish* Lords: for I could wish, and this I could enforce, that all those Wardships were in the Prince's Disposition; for then it might be hoped, that she for the universal Reformation of that Realm, would take better Order for bringing up those Wards in good Nurture, and not suffer them to come into so bad hands. And although these things be already passed away, by her Progenitors former Grants unto those said Lords, yet I could find a Way to remedy a great Part thereof, as hereafter, when fit Time serves, shall appear. And since we are entered into Speech of such Grants of former Princes to sundry Persons of this Realm of *Ireland*; I will mention unto you some other, of like nature to this, and of like Inconvenience, by which the former Kings of *England* passed unto them a great Part of their Prerogatives: which though then it was well intended, and perhaps well deserved of them which received the same, yet now such a Gap of Mischief lies open thereby, that I could wish it were well stopped. Of this sort are the Grants of Counties Palatines in *Ireland*, which though at first
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were granted upon good consideration when they were first conquered, for that those Lands lay then as a very border to the wild *Irish*, subject to continual Invasion, so as it was needful to give them great Privileges for the Defence of the Inhabitants thereof; yet now that it is no more a Border, nor frontiered with Enemies, why should such Privileges be any more continued?

Eudox, I would gladly know what you call a County Palatine, and whence it is so called.

Iren. It was (I suppose) first named Palatine of a Pale, as it were a Pale and Defence to their inward Lands, so as it is called the *English Pale*: and therefore is a Palsgrave named an Earl Palatine. Others think of the Latin *palare*, that is, to forage or out-run; because those Marchers and Borderers used commonly so to do. So as to have a County Palatine is, in effect, to have a Privilege to spoyl the Enemies Borders adjoining. And surely so it is used at this Day, as a Privilege Place of Spoyle and Stealths: for the County of *Tipperary*, which is now the only County Palatine in *Ireland*, is by abuse of some bad ones, made a Receptacle to rob the rest of the Counties about it, by means of whose Privileges none will follow their Stealths: so as it being situate in the very Lap of all the Land, is made now a border; which how inconvenient it is, let every Man judge. And though that right noble Man, that is the Lord of the Liberty, do pain himself all he may,

Palatine

may, to yield equal justice to all; yet can there not but great abuses lurk in so inward and absolute a Privilege, the Consideration whereof is to be respected carefully for the next Succession. And much like unto this Grant, there are other Privileges granted unto most of the Corporations there; that they shall not be bound to any other Government than their own; that they shall not be charged with Garrisons; that they shall not be travailed forth of their own Franchises; that they may buy and sell of Thieves and Rebels; that all Amercements and Fines that shall be imposed upon them, shall come unto themselves. All which, though at the time of their first Grant they were tolerable, and perhaps reasonable, yet now are most unreasonable and inconvenient; but all these will easily be cut off with the superiour Power of her Majesty's Prerogative, against which her own Grants are not to be pleaded or enforced.

Eudox. Now truly, *Irenæus*, you have (me seems) very well handled this Point, touching Inconveniencies in the common Law there, by you observed; and it seemeth that you have had a mindful Regard unto the things that may concern the good of that Realm. And if you can as well go thorough with the Statute Laws of that Land, I will think you have not lost all your time there. Therefore I pray you, now take them in hand, and tell us what you think to be amiss in them.

Iren.

Beards

Iren. The Statutes of that Realm are not many, and therefore we shall the sooner run thorough them; and yet of those few, there are impertinent and unnecessary, the which, though perhaps, at the time of the making them, were very needful; yet now, thorough change of time, are clean antiquated, and altogether idle: As that which forbiddeth any to wear their Beards all on their upper Lip, and none under the chin. And that which putteth away Saffron Shirts and Smocks, and that which restraineth the Use of gilt bridles and Petronels. And that which is appointed for the Recorders and Clerks of *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, to take but two Pence for the Copy of a Plaint. And that which commands Bows and Arrows. And that which makes, that all *Irishmen* which shall converse among the *English*, shall be taken for Spyes, and so punished. And that which forbids Persons amefnable to Law, to enter and distrust in the Lands in which they have Title: and many other the like I could rehearse.

Eudox. These truly, which you have repeated, seem very frivolous and fruitless; for by the Breach of them, little Damage or Inconvenience can come to the Commonwealth: Neither indeed, if any transgress them, shall he seem worthy of Punishment, scarce of blame, saving but for that they abide by that name of Laws. But Laws ought to be such, as that the keeping of them should be greatly for the behoof of the Commonwealth,

Commonweal, and the violating of them should be very heinous, and sharply punishable. But tell us of some more weighty dislikes in the Statutes than these, and that may more behooffly import the Reformation of them.

Iren. There is one or two Statutes which make the wrongful distraining of any Man's Goods against the Form of Common Law, to be Felony. The which Statutes seem surely to have been at first meant for the good of that Realm, and for restraining of a foul abuse, which then reigned commonly amongst that People, and yet is not altogether laid aside: That when any one was indebted to another, he would first demand his Debt; and if he were not payed, he would straight go and take a distress of his Goods or Cattle where he could find them, to the Value; which he would keep till he were satisfied. And this the simple Churl (as they call him) doth commonly use to do: yet through Ignorance of his Misdoin'g, or evil use, that hath long settled amongst them. But this, though it be sure most unlawful, yet surely (me seems) too hard to make it Death, since there is no purpose in the Party to steal the other's Goods, or to conceal the distress; but he doth it openly, for the most part before Witnesses. And again, the same Statutes are so slackly penned (besides the latter of them is so insensibly contrived, that it scarce carrieth any reason in it) that they are often and very easily wrested to the Fraud of the Subject: As if

one going to distrain upon his own Land or Tenement, where lawfully he may; yet if in doing thereof, he transgress the least Point of the Common Law, he straight committeth Felony. Or if one, by any other Occasion, take any thing from another, as Boys use sometimes to cap one another, the same is straight Felony. This is a very hard Law.

Eudox. Nevertheless, that evil Use of distraining of another Man's Goods, ye will not deny; but it is to be abolished and taken away.

Iren. It is so, but not by taking away the Subject withal, for that is too violent a Medicine; especially this use being permitted, and made lawful to some, and to other some Death. As to most of the Corporate Towns there, it is granted by their Charter, That they may, every Man by himself, without an Officer (for that were more tolerable) for any Debt to distrain the Goods of any *Irish*, being found within their Liberty, or but passing through their Towns. And the first Permission of this was, for that in those times when that Grant was made, the *Irish* were not amenable to Law; so as it was not Safety for the Townsman to go to him forth to demand his Debt, nor possible to draw him into Law; so that he had leave to be his own Bailiff, to arrest his said Debtor's Goods within his own Franchise. The which the *Irish* seeing, thought it as lawful for them to distrain the Townsman's Goods in
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Distraining

the Country where they found it. And so by Example of that Grant to Townsmen, they thought it lawful, and made it a use to distrain one another's goods for small Debts. And to say Truth, methinks it is hard for every trifling Debt of two or three shillings, to be driven to Law, which is so far from them sometimes to be fought ; for which methinketh it too heavy an Ordinance to give Death, especially to a rude Man that is ignorant of Law, and thinketh, that a common Use or Grant to other Men is a Law for himself.

Eudox. Yea, but the judge, when it cometh before him to trial, may easily decide this doubt, and lay open the Intent of the Law, by his better Discretion.

Iren. Yea, but it is dangerous to leave the Sense of the Law unto the Reason or Will of the judges, who are Men, and may be miscarried by Affections, and many other Means. But the Laws ought to be like stony Tables, plain, stedfast and unmovable. There is also such another Statute or two, which made *Coigny* and *Livery* to be Treason, no less inconvenient than the former, being as it is penned, however the first purport thereof were expedient ; for thereby now, no Man can go into another Man's House for Lodging, nor to his own Tenant's House, to take victualling by the way, notwithstanding that there is no other Means for him to have Lodging, nor

Horse Meat, nor Man's Meat, there being no Inns, nor none otherwise to be bought for Money, but that he is endangered by that Statute for Treason, whensoever he shall happen to fall out with his Tenant, or that his said Host list to complain of Grievance; as oftentimes I have seen them very maliciously to do, through the least Provocation.

Eudox. I do not well know, but by guess, what you do mean by these Terms of *Coigny* and *Livery*; therefore I pray you explain them.

Iren. I know not whether the words be *English* or *Irish*, but I suppose them to be rather antient *English*; for the *Irish-men* can make no derivation of them. What *Livery* is, we by common Use in *England* know well enough; namely, that it is an Allowance of Horse-Meat, as they commonly use the word in Stabling, as to keep Horses at *Livery*; the which word, I guess, is derived of livering or delivering forth their nightly Food. So in great Houses, the *Livery* is said to be served up for all Night; that is, their Evening's Allowance for Drink. And *Livery* is also called the upper Weed which a Serving-Man weareth; so called (as I suppose) for that it was delivered and taken from him at Pleasure. So it is apparent, that by the word *Livery* is there meant Horse-Meat; like as by the word *Coigny* is understood Man's-Meat: but whence the word is derived is hard to tell. Some say,

say, of Coin; for that they used commonly in their *Coignies*, not only to take Meat, but Coin also; and that taking of Mony was specially meant to be prohibited by that Statute. But I think rather, this word *Coigny* is derived of the *Irish*. The which is a common use amongst Landlords of the *Irish*, to have a common spending upon their Tenants: for all their Tenants, being commonly but Tenants at Will, they use to take of them what Victuals they list; for of Victuals they were wont to make small Reckoning: neither in this was the Tenant wronged, for it was an ordinary and known Custom, and his Lord used commonly so to covenant with him; which if at any time the Tenant disliked, he might freely depart at his Pleasure. But now by this Statute, the said *Irish* Lord is wronged, for that he is cut off from his customary Services, of the which this was one, beside many other of the like; as *Cuddy*, *Cosbery*, *Bonnaght*, *Shrah*, *Sorehin*, and such others; the which (I think) were Customs at first brought in by the *English* upon the *Irish*: for they were never wont, and yet are loth to yield any certain Rent, but only spendings: for their common saying is, *Spend me, and defend me*.

Servants at will

Eudox. Surely I take it as you say, that there-
in the *Irish* Lord hath Wrong, since it was an
ancient Custom, and nothing contrary to Law;
for to the Willing there is no Wrong done.

And this right well I wot, that even here in *England*, there are in many Places as large Customs and Privileges, as that of *Coignis* and *Livery*. But I suppose by your Speech, that it was the first meaning of the Statute, to forbid the violent taking of *Viſuals* upon other Men's Tenants against their Wills, which surely is a great Outrage; and yet not so great (*me seems*) as that it should be made *Treason*: For considering, that the nature of *Treason* is concerning the Royal Estate or Person of the Prince, or practising with his Enemies, to the Derogation and Danger of his Crown and Dignity, it is hardly wrested to make this *Treason*. But (as you said) *Better a Mischief than an Inconvenience.*

Denmark

Iren. Another Statute I remember, which having been an ancient *Irish* Custom, is now, upon Advise ment, made a Law; and that is called the Custom of *Kincogish*: which is, That every Head of every Sept, and every Chief of every Kindred or Family, should be answerable, and bound to bring forth every one of that Sept and Kindred under it, at all times to be justified, when he should be required or charged with any *Treason*, *Felony*, or other heinous Crime.

Eudox. Why surely this seems a very necessary Law. For, considering that many of them be such Losels and Scatterlings, as that they cannot easily, by any Sheriff, Constable, Bayliff, or other ordinary Officer, be gotten, when they
are

are challenged for any such Fact; this is a very good means to get them to be brought in by him, that is the Head of that Sept, or Chief of that House: Wherefore I wonder what just Exception you can make against the same.

Iren. Truly, *Eudoxus*, in the Pretence of the good of this Statute, you have nothing erred; for it seemed very expedient and necessary, but the Hurt which cometh thereby is greater than the Good. For whilst every Chief of a Sept standeth so bound to the Law, for every Man of his Blood or Sept that is under him, he is made great by the commanding of them all: For if he may not command them, then that Law doth wrong, that bindeth him to bring them forth to be justified. And if he may command them, then he may command them as well to Ill as to Good. Hereby the Lords and Captains of Countreys, the Principals and Heads of Septs, are made stronger, whom it should be a most special Care in Policy to weaken, and to set up and strengthen divers of his Underlings against him; which whensoever he shall swerve from Duty, may be able to beard him: For it is dangerous to leave the command of so many, as some Septs are, being five or six thousand Persons, to the Will of one Man; who may lead them to what he will, as he himself shall be inclined.

Eudox. In very deed, *Iren.* it is very dangerous, seeing the Disposition of those People is

not always inclinable to the best; and therefore I hold it no wisdom to leave unto them too much command over their Kindred, but rather to withdraw their Followers from them as much as may be, and to gather them under the Command of Law, by some better means than this Custom of *Kin-cogish*; the which word I would be glad to know what it namely signifieth, for the meaning thereof I seem to understand reasonably well.

Iren. It is a word mingled of *English* and *Irish* together, so as I am partly led to think, that the Custom thereof was first *English*, and afterwards made *Irish*; for such another Law they had here in *England*, as I remember, made by King *Alured*, That every Gentleman should bring forth his Kindred and Followers to the Law. So *Kin* is *English*, and *Cogish* Affinity in *Irish*.

Eudox. Sith then we have thus reasonably handled the Inconveniences in the Law; let us now pass unto the second Part, which was, I remember, of the Abuses of the Customs; in which, me seems, you have a fair Champain laid open unto you, in which you may at large stretch out your Discourse into many sweet Remembrances of Antiquities; from whence it seemeth that the Customs of that Nation proceeded.

Iren. Indeed, *Eudox.* you say very true; for all the Customs of the *Irish*, which I have often noted and compared with that I have read, would
minister

minister occasion of a most ample Discourse of the Original of them, and the Antiquity of that People; which, in truth, I think to be more antient than most that I know in this end of the World: so as if it were in the handling of some Man of sound Judgment and plentiful Reading, it would be most pleasant and profitable. But, it may be, we may, at some other time of Meeting, take occasion to treat thereof more at large. Here only it shall suffice to touch such Customs of the *Irish* as seem offensive and repugnant to the good Government of the Realm.

Eudox. Follow then your own Course, for I shall the better content myself to forbear my desire now, in hope that you will, as you say, some other time, more abundantly satisfy it.

Iren. Before we enter into the Treaty of their Customs, it is first needful to consider from whence they first sprung; for from the sundry Manners of the Nations, from whence that People, which now is called *Irish*, were derived, some of the Customs which now remain amongst them, have been first fetch'd, and thence there continued amongst them, for not of one Nation was it peopled, as it is, but of sundry People of different Conditions and Manners. But the chiefest which have first possessed and inhabited it, I suppose to be *Scythians*.

Eudox. How cometh it then to pass, that the *Irish* do derive themselves from *Gathelus* the *Spaniard*?

Iren. They do indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground: For if there were any such notable Transmission of a Colony hither out of *Spain*, or any such famous Conquest of this Kingdom by *Gathelus* a *Spaniard*, as they would fain believe; it is not unlikely but the very Chronicles of *Spain* (had *Spain* then been in so high regard as they now have it) would not have omitted so memorable a thing, as the subduing of so noble a Realm to the *Spaniard*, no more than they do now neglect to memorize their Conquest of the *Indians*; especially in those times in which the same was supposed, being nearer unto the flourishing Age of Learning and Writers under the *Romans*. But the *Irish* do herein no otherwise, than our vain *English-men* do in the Tale of *Brutus*, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this Land; it being as impossible to prove, that there was ever any such *Brutus* of *Albion*, or *England*, as it is that there was any such *Gathelus* of *Spain*. But surely the *Scythians* (of whom I erst spoke) at such time as the Northern Nations overflowed all Christendom, came down to the Sea-Coast; where enquiring for other Countries abroad, and getting intelligence of this Country
of

of *Ireland*, finding Shipping convenient, passed thither, and arrived in the North-part thereof, which is now called *Ulster*; which first inhabiting, and afterwards stretching themselves forth into the Land, as their Numbers increased, named it all of themselves *Scuttenland*, which more briefly is called *Scutland*, or *Scotland*.

Eudox. I wonder (*Ireneus*) whither you run so far astray; for whilst we talk of *Ireland*, methinks you rip up the Original of *Scotland*; but what is that to this?

Iren. Surely very much, for *Scotland* and *Ireland* are all one and the same.

Eudox. That seemeth more strange; for we all know right well, they are distinguished by a great Sea running between them; or else there are two *Scotlands*.

Iren. Never the more are there two *Scotlands*; but two kinds of *Scots* were indeed (as you may gather out of *Buchanan*) the one *Iren*, or *Irish Scots*, the other *Albine-Scots*: for those *Scots* are *Scythians*, arrived (as I said) in the North parts of *Ireland*; where some of them after passed into the next Coast of *Albine*, now called *Scotland*, which (after much Trouble) they possessed, and of themselves named *Scotland*: but in process of Time (as it is commonly seen) the Dominion of the Part prevaleth in the Whole;
for

for the *Irish Scots* putting away the name of *Scots*, were called only *Irish*: and the *Albine Scots*, leaving the name of *Albine*, were called only *Scots*. Therefore it cometh thence, that of some Writers *Ireland* is called *Scotia Major*, and that which now is called *Scotland*, *Scotia Minor*.

Eudox. I do now well understand your distinguishing of the two sorts of *Scots*, and two *Scotlands*; how that this which now is called *Ireland*, was antiently called *Erin*, and afterwards of some written *Scotland*: and that which now is called *Scotland*, was formerly called *Albin*, before the coming of the *Scythes* thither. But what other Nation inhabited the other parts of *Ireland*?

Iren. After this People thus planted in the North, or before, (for the certainty of things in Times so far from all Knowledge, cannot be justly avouched) another Nation coming out of *Spain*, arrived in the West part of *Ireland*; and finding it waste, or weakly inhabited, possessed it: who whether they were native *Spaniards*, or *Gauls*, or *Africans*, or *Goths*, or some other of those Northern Nations which did over-spread all Christendom, it is impossible to affirm; only some naked Conjectures may be gathered: but that out of *Spain* certainly they came, that do all the *Irish* Chronicles agree.

Eudox.

Eudox You do very boldly, *Iren.* adventure upon the Histories of ancient Times, and lean too confidently on those *Irish* Chronicles which are most fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hand to lay open the Original of such a Nation so antique, as that no Monument remains of her Beginning and first Inhabiting; especially having been in those times without Letters; but only bare Traditions of Times and Remembrances of *Bardes*, which use to forge and falsify every thing as they list, to please or displease any Man.

Iren. Truly I must confess I do so, but yet not so absolutely as you suppose. I do herein rely upon those *Bardes* or *Irish* Chroniclers, though the *Irish* themselves, through their Ignorance in matters of Learning and deep Judgment, do most constantly believe and avouch them: but unto them besides I add mine own Reading; and out of them both together, with Comparison of Times, likewise of Manners and Customs, Affinity of Words and Names, Properties of Natures, and Uses, Resemblances of Rites and Ceremonies, Monuments of Churches and Tombs, and many other like Circumstances, I do gather a likelihood of Truth, not certainly affirming any thing, but by conferring of Times, Language, Monuments, and such like, I do hunt out a probability of Things which I leave to your Judgment to believe or refuse. Nevertheless.

Bardes

less there be some very ancient Authors that make mention of these things, and some modern; which by comparing them with present Times, Experience, and their own Reason, do open a Window of great Light unto the rest that is yet unseen: as namely, of the elder times, *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Berosus*; of the latter, *Vincentius*, *Æneas Sylvius*, *Luidus*, *Buchanan*; for that he himself being an *Irish*, *Scot*, or *Pict*, by Nation, and being very excellently learned, and industrious to seek out the Truth of all things concerning the Original of his own People, hath both set down the Testimony of the Ancients truly, and his own Opinion together, withal very reasonably, though in some things he doth somewhat flatter. Besides, the *Bardes* and *Irish* Chroniclers themselves, though through desire of pleasing too much, and Ignorance of Arts and purer Learning, they have clouded the Truth of those Lines; yet there appear among them some Reliques of the true Antiquity, though disguised, which a well-eyed Man may happily discover and find out.

Eudox. How can there be any truth in them at all, since the ancient Nations which first inhabited *Ireland*, were altogether destitute of Letters, much more of Learning; by which they might leave the Verity of things written? And those *Bardes* coming also so many hundred Years after, could not know what was done in former Ages,

Ages, nor deliver Certainty of any thing, but what they feigned out of their unlearned Heads.

Iren. Those *Bardes* indeed, *Cæsar* writeth, delivered no certain Truth of any thing, neither is there any certain hold to be taken of any Antiquity which is received by Tradition, since all Men be Lyars, and many lye when they will; yet for the Antiquities of the written Chronicles of *Ireland*, give me leave to say something, not to justify them, but to shew that some of them might say truth. For where you say the *Irish* have always been without Letters, you are therein much deceived; for it is certain, that *Ireland* hath had the use of Letters very anciently, and long before *England*.

Eudox. Is it possible? How comes it then that they are so unlearned still, being so old Scholars? For Learning (as the Poet saith) *Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros*. Whence then I pray you, could they have those Letters?

Iren. It is hard to say: for whether they at their first coming into the Land, or afterwards by Trading with other Nations which had Letters, learned them of them, or devised them among themselves, is very doubtful; but that they had Letters anciently is nothing doubtful, for the *Saxons* of *England* are said to have their Letters and Learning, and learned Men from the *Irish*; and

Letters

and that also appeareth by the Likeness of the Character, for the *Saxons* Character is the same with the *Irish*. Now the *Scythians* never, as I can read, of old, had Letters amongst them, therefore it seemeth that they had them from the Nation which came out of *Spain*; for in *Spain* there were (as *Strabo* writeth) Letters anciently used, whether brought unto them by the *Phenicians*, or the *Persians*, which (as it appeareth by him) had some footing there, or from *Marfellis*, which is said to have been inhabited by the *Greeks*, and from them to have had the *Greek* Character: of which *Marfilians* it is said, that the *Gaules* learned them first, and used them only for the furtherance of their Trades and private Business. For the *Gaules* (as is strongly to be proved by many ancient and authentical Writers) did first inhabit all the Sea-Coast of *Spain*, even unto *Cales*, and the Mouth of the Straights, and peopled also a great part of *Italy*; which appeareth by sundry Havens and Cities in *Spain* called from them, as *Portugallia*, *Gallecia*, *Galdunum*, and also by sundry Nations therein dwelling, which yet have received their own names of the *Gaules*; as the *Rhegni*, *Pre-samarci*, *Tamari*, *Cineri*, and divers others. All which *Pomponius Mela*, being himself a *Spaniard*, yet saith to have descended from the *Celts* of *France*; whereby it is to be gathered, that that Nation which came out of *Spain* into *Ireland*, were anciently *Gaules*, and that they brought

brought with them those Letters which they had anciently learned in *Spain*, first into *Ireland*; which some also say, do much resemble the old *Phenician* Character, being likewise distinguished with Prick and Accent, as theirs anciently: but the further Enquiry hereof needeth a place of longer Discourse than this our short Conference.

Eudox. Surely you have shewed a great Probability of that which I had thought impossible to have been proved; but that which you now say, That *Ireland* should have been peopled with the *Gauls*, seemeth much more strange; for all the Chronicles do say, that the West and South was possessed and inhabited of *Spaniards*: and *Cornelius Tacitus* doth also strongly affirm the same; all which you must overthrow and falsify, or else renounce your Opinion.

Iren. Neither so, nor so; for the *Irish* Chronicles (as I shewed you) being made by unlearned Men, and writing things according to the appearance of the Truth, which they conceived, do err in the Circumstances, not in the Matter. For all that came out of *Spain*, they (being no diligent Searchers into the Differences of the Nations) supposed to be *Spaniards*, and so called them; but the Ground-work thereof is nevertheless true and certain, however they through Ignorance disguise the same, or through Vanity, whilst they would not seem to be ignorant, do thereupon

Gathelus

thereupon build and enlarge many forged Histories of their own Antiquity, which they deliver to Fools, and make them believe for true. As for Example, That first of one *Gathelus* the Son of *Cecrops* or *Argos*, who having married the King of *Egypt* his Daughter, thence sailed with her into *Spain*, and there inhabited: Then that of *Nemedus* and his Sons, who coming out of *Scythia*, peopled *Ireland*, and inhabited it with his Sons 250 Years, until he was overcome of the Giants dwelling then in *Ireland*, and at the last quite banished and rooted out. After whom 200 Years, the Sons of one *Dela*, being *Scythians*, arrived there again, and possessed the whole Land: of which the youngest called *Slanius*, in the end made himself *Monarch*. Lastly, of the four Sons of *Milesius* King of *Spain*, which conquered the Land from the *Scythians*, and inhabited it with *Spaniards*, and called it of the name of the youngest *Hiberus*, *Hibernia*: All which are in truth Fables, and very *Milesian* Lyes, as the Latin Proverb is; for never was there such a King of *Spain* called *Milesius*, nor any such Colony seated with his Sons, as they feign, that can ever be proved: but yet under these Tales you may in a manner see the Truth lurk. For *Scythians* here inhabiting, they name and put *Spaniards*, whereby appeareth that both these Nations here inhabited; but whether very *Spaniards*, as the *Irish* greatly affect, is no ways to be proved.

Eodex.

Eudax. Whence cometh it then, that the *Irish* do so greatly covet to fetch themselves from the *Spaniards*, since the old *Gauls* are a more ancient and much more honourable Nation?

Iren. Even of a very desire of New-fangledness and Vanity; for they derive themselves from the *Spaniards*, as seeing them to be a very honourable People, and near bordering unto them. But all that is most vain; for from the *Spaniards*, that now are, or that People that now inhabit *Spain*, they no ways can prove themselves to descend: neither should it be greatly glorious unto them, for the *Spaniard* that now is, is come from as rude and savage Nations as they; there being, as there may be gathered by Course of Ages, and view of their own History (though they therein labour much to ennoble themselves) scarce any Drop of the old *Spanish* Blood left in them: for all *Spain* was first conquered by the *Romans* and filled with Colonies from them, which were still increased, and the native *Spaniard* still cut off. Afterwards the *Carthaginians* in all the long *Punic* Wars (having spoiled all *Spain*, and in the end subdued it wholly unto themselves) did, as it is likely, root out all that were affected to the *Romans*. And lastly, the *Romans* having again recovered that Country, and beat out *Hannibal*, did doubtless cut off all that favoured

Spain

voured the *Carthaginians*; so that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was scarce a Native *Spaniard* left, but all inhabited of *Romans*. All which Tempests of Troubles being over-blown, there long after arose a new Storm, more dreadful than all the former, which over-ran all *Spain*; and made an infinite Confusion of all things; that was, the coming down of the *Goths*, the *Hunns*, and the *Vandals*; and lastly, all the Nations of *Scythia*: which like a Mountain Flood, did over-flow all *Spain*; and quite drowned and wash'd away whatsoever Reliques there was left of the Land-bred People, yea, and of all the *Romans* too. The which Northern Nations finding the Nature of the Soil, and the vehement Heat thereof far differing from their Constitutions, took no Felicity in that Country, but from thence passed over, and did spread themselves into all Countries of Christendom; of all which there is none but hath some mixture or sprinkling, if not thoroughly peopling of them. And yet after all these, the *Moors* and the *Barbarians* breaking over out of *Africa*, did finally possess all *Spain*, or the most part thereof, and did tread under their heathenish Feet whatever little they found yet there standing. The which though after they were beaten out by *Ferdinando* of *Arragon* and *Isabella* his Wife, yet they were not so cleansed, but that through the Marriages which they had made, and mixture with the People of the Land, during their long continuance.

ante there, they had left no pure Drop of *Spanish* Blood, no more than of *Roman* or *Scythian*. So that of all Nations under Heaven (I suppose) the *Spaniard* is the most mingled, and most uncertain. Wherefore most foolishly do the *Irish* think to ennoble themselves, by wresting their Ancientry from the *Spaniard*, who is unable to derive himself from any in certain.

Eudox. You speak very sharply, *Iren.* in dispraise of the *Spaniard*, whom some others boast to be the only brave Nation under the Sky.

Iren. So surely he is a very brave Man, neither is that any thing which I speak to his derogation: for in that I said he is a mingled People, it is no dispraise; for I think there is no Nation now in Christendom, nor much further, but is mingled and compounded with others. For it was a singular Providence of God, and a most admirable purpose of his Wisdom, to draw those Northern Heathen Nations down into those Christian Parts, where they might receive Christianity, and to mingle Nations so remote miraculously, to make, as it were, one Blood and Kindred of all People, and each to have knowledge of him.

Eudox. Neither have you sure any more dishonoured the *Irish*, for you have brought them from very great and ancient Nations as any were
in

in the World, however fondly they affect the *Spanish*. For both *Scythians* and *Gaules* were two as mighty Nations as ever the World brought forth. But is there any Token, Denomination, or Moment of the *Gaules* yet remaining in *Ireland*, as there is of the *Scythians*?

Iren. Yea surely, very many words of the *Gaules* remaining, and yet daily used in common Speech.

Eudox. What was the *Gaulish* Speech? Is there any part of it still used among any Nation?

Iren. The *Gaulish* Speech is the very *British*, the which was very generally used here in all *Britain*, before the coming of the *Saxons*; and yet is retained of the *Welshmen*, *Cornishmen*, and the *Britains* of *France*: though Time working the Alteration of all things, and the Trading and Interdeal with other Nations round about, have changed and greatly altered the Dialect thereof; but yet the original Words appear to be the same, as who hath list to read in *Camden* and *Buchanan*, may see at large. Besides, there be many Places, as *Havens*, *Hills*, *Towns*, and *Castles*, which yet bear the Names from the *Gaules*: of the which *Buchanan* rehearseth above five hundred in *Scotland*; and I can (I think) recount near as many in *Ireland*, which retain the old denomination of the *Gaules*; as the *Menapii*, *Cauci*, *Venti*, and others.

Irish Gaulish

others. By all which, and many other reasonable Probabilities (which this short Course will not suffer to be laid forth) it appeareth, that the chief Inhabitants in *Ireland* were *Gaules*; coming thither first out of *Spain*, and after from besides *Tanais*, where the *Gothes*, the *Hunnes*, and the *Getes*, sat down; they also being (as it is said of some) ancient *Gaules*; And lastly, passing out of *Gallia* itself, from all the Sea-Coast of *Belgia* and *Celtica*, into all the Southern Coasts of *Ireland*, which they possessed and inhabited; whereupon it is at this day, amongst the *Irish*, a common use, to call any Stranger, Inhabitant there amongst them, *Gald*; that is, descended from the *Gaules*.

Eudox. This is very likely, for even so did those *Gaules* anciently possess all the Southern Coasts of our *Britain*, which yet retain their old Names; as the *Belgæ* in *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, and part of *Hampshire*; *Atrebatii* in *Barkshire*; *Regni* in *Sussex* and *Surry*, and many others. Now thus far then I understand your Opinion, that the *Scythians* planted in the North part of *Ireland*, and the *Spaniards*, (for so we call them whatever they were that came from *Spain*) in the West, the *Gaules* in the South; so that there now remain the East parts towards *England*, which I would be glad to understand from whence you do think them to be peopled.

Iren. Marry I think of the *Britains* themselves, of which, though there be little footing

British names

now remaining, by reason that the *Saxons* afterwards, and lastly the *English* driving out the Inhabitants thereof, did possess and people it themselves: yet amongst the *Tooles*, the *Birns* or *Brins*, the *Cavanaghes*, and other Nations in *Leinster*, there is some Memory of the *Britains* remaining. As the *Tools* are called of the old *British* word *Tol*, that is a Hill Country; the *Brins* of the *British* word *Brin*, that is, Woods; and the *Cavanaghes* of the word *Caune*, that is, strong: so that in these three People, the very Denomination, of the old *Britains* doth still remain. Besides, when any flieth under the Succour and Protection of any against an Enemy: he crieth unto him, *Comericke*; that is in the *British*, Help; for the *Britain* is called in their own Language *Comeroy*. Furthermore to prove the same, *Ireland* is, by *Diodorus Siculus*, and by *Strabo*, called *Britannia*, and a part of *Great Britain*. Finally, it appeareth by good Record yet extant, that King *Arthur* and before him *Gurgunt*, had all that Island under their Allegiance and Subjection. Hereunto I could add many Probabilities of the Names of Places, Persons and Speeches, as I did in the former; but they shou'd be too long for this, and I reserve them for another. And thus you have had my opinion how all the Realm of *Ireland*, was first peopled, and by what Nations. After all which, the *Saxons* succeeding, subdu'd it wholly to themselves. For first, *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland* did utterly waste and subdue it, as appeareth out of *Beda's* Complaint against him

him; and after him, King *Edgar* brought it under his Obedience, as appeareth by an ancient Record, in which it is found written, that he subdued all the Islands of the North even unto *Norway*, and brought them into his subjection.

Eudox. This ripping of Ancestors is very pleasing unto me, and indeed favoureth of good Con-
ceit, and some Reading withal. I see hereby how profitable Travel and Experience of foreign Nations is, to him that will apply them to good purpose. Neither indeed would I have thought that any such Antiquities could have been avouch-
ed for the *Irish*; that maketh me the more to long to see some other of your Observations, which you have gathered out of that Country and have earst half promised to put forth. And sure in this mingling of Nations appeareth (as you earst well noted) a wonderful Providence and Purpose of Almighty God, that stirred up the People in the furthest Parts of the World, to seek out the Regions so remote from them; and by that means, both to restore their decayed Habitations, and to make himself known to the Heathen. But was there, I pray you, no more general employing of that Island, than first by the *Scythians*, which you say were the *Scots*, and afterwards by the *Spaniards*; besides the *Gaules*, *Britains*, and *Saxons*?

Iren. Yes, there was another, and that last and greatest, which was by the *English*, when the

Earl *Strongbowe* having conquered that Land, delivered up the same into the Hands of *Henry* the Second, then King; who sent over thither a great store of Gentlemen, and other warlike People, amongst whom he distributed the Land, and settled such a strong Colony therein; as never since could, with all the subtil Practises of the *Irish*, be rooted out; but abide still a mighty People, of so many as remain *English* of them.

Eudox. What is this that you say, of so many as remain *English* of them? Why, are not they that were once *English*, *English* still?

Iren. No; for some of them are degenerated, and grown mere *Irish*; yea, and more malicious to the *English*, than the *Irish* themselves.

Eudox. What heard I? And is it possible that an *Englishman*, brought up in such sweet Civility as *England* affords, should find such liking in that barbarous Rudeness, that he should forget his own Nature, and forego his own Nation? How may this be? or what (I pray you) may be the Cause thereof?

Iren. Surely nothing, but the first evil Ordinance and Institution of that Commonwealth. But thereof here is no fit place to speak, lest by the Occasion thereof, offering matter of a long Discourse, we might be drawn from this that we have

English Degenerated

have in hand; namely, the handling of Abuses in the Customes of Ireland.

Eudox. In truth *Iren.* you do well remember the Plot of your first purpose; but yet from that (me seems) ye have much swerved, in all this long Discourse of the first inhabiting of Ireland: for what is that to your purpose?

Iren. Truly very material; for if you marked the course of all that speech well, it was to shew by what means the Customs that now are in Ireland, being some of them indeed very strange, and almost Heathenish, were first brought in: and that was, as I said, by those Nations from whom that Country was first peopled; for the difference in Manners and Customs doth follow the difference of Nations and People. The which I have declared to you to have been three especially, which seated themselves here: To wit, first the *Scythian*; then the *Gaules*; and lastly, the *English*. Notwithstanding that I am not ignorant, that there were sundry Nations which got footing in that Land, of the which there yet remain divers great Families and Septs, of whom I will also in their proper places make mention.

Eudox. You bring yourself, *Iren.* very well into the way again, notwithstanding that it seemeth that you were never out of the way; but now that you have passed through those Antiquities which I could have wished not so soon ended,

Scythian Customs.

ed, begin when you please, to declare what Customs and Manners have been derived from those Nations to the *Irish*, and which of them you find fault withal.

Iren. I will begin then to count their Customs in the same Order that I counted their Nations, and first with the *Scythian* or *Scottish* Manners: Of the which, there is one use amongst them, to keep their Cattle, and to live themselves the most part of the year in *Boolies*, pasturing upon the Mountain, and waste wild Places, and removing still to fresh Land as they have depastured the former. The which appeareth plain to be the Manner of the *Scythians*, as you may read in *Olaus Magnus* and *Job. Boemus*, and yet is used amongst all the *Tartarians*, and the People about the *Caspian Sea*, which are naturally *Scythians*, to live in Herds, as they call them; being the very same that the *Irish Boolies* are, driving their Cattle continually with them, and feeding only on their Milk and White-Meats.

Eudox. What fault can you find with this Custom? for though it be an old *Scythian* use; yet it is very behooveful in this Country of *Ireland*, where there are great Mountains, and waste Desarts full of Grass, that the same should be eaten down, and nourish many thousands of Cattle, for the good of the whole Realm; which cannot (methinks) well be any other way, than by keeping those *Boolies* there, as ye have shewed.

Iren.

Iren. But by this Custom of *Boolying*, there grow in the mean time many great Enormities unto that Commonwealth. For first, if there be any Out-laws, or loose People, (as they are never without some) which live upon Stealths and Spoils, they are evermore succoured and find Relief only in these *Boolies*, being upon the waste Places; whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve, or to come down to the Towns to seek Relief, where by one means or other they would soon be caught. Besides, such Stealths of Cattle as they make, they bring commonly to those *Boolies*, being upon those waste Places, where they are readily received, and the Thief harboured from Danger of Law, or such Officers as might light upon him. Moreover, the People that thus live in those *Boolies*, grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentious than they could in Towns, using what Manners they list, and practising what Mischiefs and Villanies they will, either against the Government there by their Combinations, or against private Men, whom they malign, by stealing their Goods, or murdering themselves: For there they think themselves half exempted from Law and Obedience, and having once tasted Freedom, do, like a Steer that hath been long out of his Yoke, grudge and repine ever after, to come under Rule again.

Eudox. By your Speech, *Iren.* I perceive more Evil comes by this use of *Booies*, than Good by their grasing; and therefore it may well be reformed: but that must be in its due Course. Do you proceed to the next.

Mantles
Glibbs
Iren. They have another Custom from the *Scythians*, that is, the wearing of *Mantles* and long *Glibbs*, which is a thick curled Bush of Hair hanging down over their Eyes, and monstrously disguising them; which are both very bad and hurtful.

Eudox. Do you think that the *Mantle* cometh from the *Scythians*? I would surely think otherwise; for by that which I have read, it appeareth, that most Nations of the World antiently used the *Mantle*: For the *Jews* used it, as you may read of *Elias's Mantle*, &c. the *Chaldees* also used it, as you may read in *Diodorus*; the *Egyptians* likewise used it, as you may read in *Herodotus*, and may be gathered by the Description of *Berenice*, in the *Greek Commentary upon Callimachus*: The *Greeks* also used it antiently, as appeareth by *Venus's Mantle* lined with Stars, tho' afterwards they changed the Form thereof into their Cloaks, called *Pallia*, as some of the *Irish* also use: And the ancient *Latines* and *Romans* used it, as you may read in *Virgil*, who was a very great Antiquary, That *Evander*, when *Aeneas* came to him at his Feast, did entertain

ertain and feast him, sitting on the Ground, and lying on *Mantles*; insomuch as he useth the very word *Mantile* for a *Mantle*.

———*Humi mantilia sternunt.*

So that it seemeth, that the *Mantle* was a general Habit to most Nations, and not proper to the *Scythians* only, as you suppose.

Iren. I cannot deny, but that anciently it was common to most; and yet sith thence disused and laid away. But in this latter Age of the World, since the Decay of the *Roman Empire*, it was renewed and brought in again by those northern Nations, when breaking out of their cold Caves and frozen Habitations, into the sweet Soil of *Europe*, they brought with them their usual Weeds, fit to shield the Cold, and that continual Frost to which they had at home been inured: the which yet they left not off, by reason that they were in perpetual Wars with the Nations whom they had invaded, but still removing from Place to Place, carried always with them that Weed, as their House, their Bed, and their Garment: and coming lastly into *Ireland*, they found there more special use thereof, by reason of the raw cold Climate, from whom it is now grown into that general Use in which that People now have it. After whom the *Gaules* succeeding, yet finding the like Necessity

ceffity of that Garment, continued the like Use thereof.

Eudox. Since then the Neceffity thereof is fo commodious, as you alledge, that it is instead of Houfing, Bedding, and Cloathing; what reason have you then to wish fo necessary a thing caft off?

Iren. Because the Commodity doth not countervail the Difcommodity; for the Inconveniencies which thereby do arife, are much more many: for it is a fit Houfe for an Out-law, a meet Bed for a Rebel; and an apt Cloke for a Thief. Firft, the Out-law, being for his many Crimes and Villanies banifhed from the Towns and Houfes of honeft Men, and wandring in wafte Places, far from Danger of Law, maketh his Mantle his Houfe, and under it covereth himfelf from the Wrath of Heaven, from the Offence of the Earth, and from the Sight of Men. When it raineth, it is his Pent-house; when it bloweth, it is his Tent; when it freezeth, it is his Tabernacle. In Summer, he can wear it loofe; in Winter he can wrap it clofe; at all times, he can ufe it; never heavy, never cumbersome. Likewise for a Rebel it is as ferviceable: for in this War that he maketh (if at leaft it deserve the Name of War) when he ftill flieth from his Foe, and lurketh in the thick Woods, and ftrait Passages, waiting for Advantages; it is his Bed, yez, and almoft his Houfhould-ftuff.

For

For the Wood is his House against all Weathers, and his Mantle is his Couch to sleep in : therein he wrappeth himself round, and coucheth himself strongly against the Gnats, which, in that Countrey, do more annoy the naked Rebels, whilst they keep the Woods, and do more sharply wound them, than all their Enemies Swords or Spears, which can seldom come nigh them. Yea, and oftentimes their Mantle serveth them, when they are near driven, being wrapped about their left Arm, instead of a Target ; for it is hard to cut through with a Sword ; besides, it is light to bear, light to throw away, and being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Lastly, for a Thief, it is so handsome, as it may seem it was first invented for him : for under it he may cleanly convey any fit Pillage that cometh handsonely in his way ; and when he goeth abroad in the Night in Free-booting, it is his best and surest Friend ; for lying, as they often do, two or three Nights together abroad, to watch for their Booty, with that they can prettily shroud themselves under a Bush on a Bank-side, till they can conveniently do their Errand : and when all is over, he can, in his Mantle, pass through any Town or Company, being close hooded over his Head, as he useth, from Knowledge of any to whom he is endangered. Besides this, he, or any Man else, that is disposed to Mischief or Villany, may, under his Mantle, go privily armed, without Suspicion

of any, carry his Head-piece, his Skeep, or Pistol if he please, to be always in readiness. Thus necessary and fitting is a Mantle for a bad Man, and surely for a bad Housewife it is no less convenient; for some of them that be wandring Women, called of them *Mona-Shull*, it is half a Wardrobe; for in Summer you shall find her arrayed commonly, but in her Smock and Mantle to be more ready for her light Services: in Winter, and in her Travail, it is her Cloak and Safeguard, and also a Coverlet for her lewd Exercise: and when she hath filled her Vessel, under it she can hide both her Burden, and her Blame; yea, and when her Bastard is born, it serves instead of swaddling Clouts. And as for all other good Women which love to do but little Work, how handsome it is to lie in and sleep, or to louse themselves in the Sun-shine, they that have been but a while in *Ireland* can well witness. Sure I am that you will think it very unfit for a good Housewife to stir in, or to busie herself about her Huswifery in such sort as she should. These be some of the Abuses for which I would think it meet to forbid all Mantles.

Eudox. O evil-minded Man, that having reckoned up so many Uses of a Mantle, will yet wish it to be abandoned! Sure I think *Diogenes's* Dish did never serve his Master for more Turns, notwithstanding that he made it his Dish, his Cup, his Cap, his Measure, his Water-pot;

Water-pot; than a Mantle doth an *Irish* Man. But I see they be most to bad Intents, and therefore I will join with you in abolishing it. But what Blame lay you to the Glibb? take heed (I pray you) that you be not too busie therewith, for fear of your own Blame; seeing our *Englishmen* take it up in such a general Fashion to wear their Hair so immeasurably long, that some of them exceed the longest *Irish* Glibbs.

Iren. I fear not the Blame of any undeserved Dislikes: but for the *Irish* Glibbs, they are as fit Masks as a Mantle is for a Thief. For whensoever he hath run himself into that Peril of Law, that he will not be known, he either cutteth off his Glibb quite, by which he becometh nothing like himself; or pulleth it so low down over his Eyes, that it is very hard to discern his thievish Countenance, and therefore fit to be trussed up with the Mantle.

Eudox. Truly these three *Scythian* Abuses, I hold most fit to be taken away with sharp Penalties: and sure I wonder how they have been kept thus long, notwithstanding so many good Provisions and Orders, as have been devised for that People.

Iren. The Cause thereof shall appear to you hereafter; but let us now go forward with our *Scythian* Customs. Of which the next that I have

have to treat of, is the Manner of raising the Cry in their Conflicts, and at other troublesome Times of Uproar: the which is very natural *Scythian*, as you may read in *Diodorus Siculus*, and in *Herodotus*, describing the Manner of the *Scythians* and *Parthians* coming to give the Charge at Battles; at which it is said, that they came running with a terrible Yell, as if Heaven and Earth would have gone together; which is the very Image of the *Irish Hubub*, which their *Kerns* use at their first Encounter. Besides the same *Herodotus* writeth, that they used in their Battles to call upon the Names of their Captains or Generals, and sometimes upon their greatest Kings deceased, as in that Battle of *Tomyris* against *Cyrus*: which Custom to this day manifestly appeareth amongst the *Irish*. For at their joyning of Battle, they likewise call upon their Captain's Name, or the Word of his Ancestors. As they under *Omsal* cry *Laundarg-abo*, that is, the bloody Hand, which is *Omsal's* Badge. They under *O-Brien* call *Launlaider*, that is, the strong Hand. And to their ensample, the old *English* also, which there remaineth, have gotten up their Cryes *Scythian-like*, as *Cnam-abo*, and *Butler-abo*. And here also lyeth open another manifest Proof, that the *Irish* be *Scythes* or *Scots*, for in all their Incounters they use one very common Word, crying *Ferragh*, *Ferragh*; which is a *Scottish* Word, to wit the Name of one of the first Kings of *Scotland*, called *Feragus*, or *Fergus*,

Irish Cry

STATE OF IRELAND. 85

gus, which fought against the *Picts*, as you may read in *Buchanan, de rebus Scoticis*: but as others write, it was long before that, the Name of their chief Captain, under whom they fought against the *Africans*; the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever sithence they have used to call upon his Name in their Battles.

Eudox. Believe me, this Observation of yours, *Ireneus*, is very good and delightful: far beyond the blind Concept of some, who (I remember) have upon the same Word *Ferragh*, made a very blunt Conjecture: as namely Mr. *Staniburst*, who though he be the same Countreyman born, that should search more nearly into the secret of these things; yet hath strayed from the truth all the Heavens wide, (as they say) for he thereupon groundeth a very gross Imagination, that the *Irish* should descend from the *Egyptians* which came into that Island, first under the leading of one *Scota* the Daughter of *Pharaoh*; whereupon they use (saith he) in all their Battles, to call upon the Name of *Pharaoh*, crying *Ferragh*, *Ferragh*. Surely he shoots wide on the Bow-Hand, and very far from the Mark. For I would first know of him, what ancient Ground of Authority he hath for such a senseless Fable, and if he have any of the rude *Irish* Books, as it may be he hath, yet (me seems) that a Man of his Learning should not so lightly have been carried away with old Wives Tales, from Ap-
providence

Ferragh

provance of his own Reason ; for whether it be a Smack of any learned Judgment, to say, that *Scota* is like an *Egyptian* Word, let the Learned judge. But his *Scota* rather comes of the *Greek σκοτος*, that is, Darknes, which hath not let him see the Light of the Truth.

Iren. You know not, *Eudoxus*, how well *M. Stan.* could see in the dark, perhaps he hath Owls or Cats Eyes : but well I wot he seeth not well the very Light in Matters of more Weight. But as for *Ferragh*, I have told my Conjecture only ; and yet thus much I have more to prove a Likelihood, that there be yet at this day in *Ireland* many *Irishmen* (chiefly in the Northern Parts) called by the Name of *Ferragh*. But let that now be : this only for this Place sufficeth, that it is a Word used in their common Hububs, the which (with all the rest) is to be abolished, for that it discovereth an Affectation to *Irish* Captainry, which in this Platform I endeavour specially to beat down. There be other sorts of Cryes also used amongst the *Irish*, which savour greatly of the *Scythian* Barbarism ; as their Lamentations at their Burials, with dispaiful Out-cryes, and immoderate Wailings, the which *M. Stanihurst* might also have used for an Argument to prove them *Egyptians* : For so in Scripture it is mentioned, that the *Egyptians* lamented for the Death of *Joseph*. Others think this Custom to come from the *Spaniards*, for that they do immeasurably likewise bewail their Dead.

Dead. But the same is not proper *Spanish*, but altogether *Heathenish*, brought in thither first either by the *Scythians*, or the *Moors* that were *Africans*, and long possessed that Countrey. For it is the Manner of all *Pagans* and *Infidels* to be intemperate in their Wailings of their Dead, for that they had no Faith nor Hope of Salvation. And this ill Custom also is specially noted by *Diodorus Siculus*, to have been in the *Scythians*, and is yet amongst the Northern *Scots* at this Day, as you may read in their Chronicles.

Eudox. This is sure an ill Custom also, but yet doth not so much concern civil Reformation, as Abuse in Religion.

Iren. I did not rehearse it as one of the Abuses which I thought most worthy of Reformation; but having made mention of *Irish* Cries, I thought this Manner of lewd crying and howling, not impertinent to be noted, as uncivil and *Scythian-like*: for by these old Customs, and other like conjectural Circumstances, the Descents of Nations can only be proved, where other Monuments of Writings are not remaining.

Eudox. Then (I pray you) whensoever in your Discourse you meet with them by the way, do not shun, but boldly touch them; for besides their great Pleasure and Delight for their Antiquity,

quity, they bring also great Profit and Help unto Civility.

Iren. Then sith you will have it so, I will here take Occasion, since I lately spake of their Manner of Cryes in joyning of Battle, to speak also somewhat of the Manner of their Arms, and Array in Battle, with other Customs perhaps worthy the noting. And first of their Arms and Weapons, amongst which their broad Swords are proper *Scythian*; for such the *Scythes* used commonly, as you may read in *Olaus Magnus*, and the same also the old *Scots* used, as you may read in *Buchanan*, and in *Solinus*, where the Pictures of them are in the same form expressed. Also their short Bows, and little Quivers, with short bearded Arrows, are very *Scythian*, as you may read in the same *Olaus*. And the same sort both of Bows, Quivers, and Arrows, are at this day to be seen commonly amongst the Northern *Irish-Scots*, whose *Scottish* Bows are not past three quarters of a Yard long, with a String of wreathed Hemp slackly bent, and whose Arrows are not much above half an Ell long, tipped with steel Heads, made like common broad Arrow Heads, but much more sharp and slender; that they enter into a Man or Horse most cruelly notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakly. Moreover, their long broad Shields, made up with wicker Rods, which are commonly used amongst the said Northern *Irish*, but especially of the *Scots*, are brought from the *Scythians*,

Bows

Scythians, as you may read in *Olaus Magnus*, *Solinus*, and others; likewise their going to battle without Armour on their Bodies or Heads, but trusting to the Thickness of their Glibbs, the which (they say) will sometimes bear off a good stroke, is meer *Scythian*, as you may see in the said Images of the old *Scythes* or *Scots*, set forth by *Herodianus* and others. Besides, their confused kind of March in Heaps, without any Order or Array, their clashing of Swords together, their fierce running upon their Enemies, and their manner of Fight, resembleth altogether that which is read in Histories to have been used of the *Scythians*. By which it may almost infallibly be gathered together, with other Circumstances, that the *Irish* are very *Scots* or *Scythes* originally, though since intermingled with many other Nations repairing and joyning unto them. And to these I may also add another strong Conjecture which cometh to my Mind, that I have often observed there amongst them; that is, certain religious Ceremonies, which are very superstitiously yet used amongst them, the which are also written by sundry Authors, to have been observed amongst the *Scythians*, by which it may very vehemently be presumed that the Nations were anciently all one. For *Plutarch* (as I remember) in his Treatise of *Homer*, endeavouring to search out the Truth, what Countreyman *Homer* was, proveth it most strongly (as he thinketh) that he was an *Æolian* born, for that in describing a Sacrifice of the *Greeks*,
he

he omitted the Loyn, the which all the other *Grecians* (saving the *Æolians*) use to burn in their Sacrifices : also for that he makes the Intrals to be roasted on five Spits, which was the proper manner of the *Æolians*, who only, of all the Nations of *Grecia*, used to sacrifice in that sort. By which he inferreth necessarily, that *Homer* was an *Æolian*. And by the same Reason may I as reasonably conclude, that the *Irish* are descended from the *Scythians* ; for that they use (even to this day) some of the same Ceremonies which the *Scythians* anciently used. As for example, you may read in *Lucian*, in that sweet Dialogue, which is intitled *Toxaris*, or of Friendship, that the common Oath of the *Scythians* was by the Sword, and by the Fire ; for that they accounted those two special Divine Powers, which should work Vengeance on the Perjurers. So do the *Irish* at this Day, when they go to Battle, say certain Prayers or Charms to their Swords, making a Cross therewith upon the Earth and thrusting the Points of their Blades into the Ground, thinking thereby to have the better Success in Fight. Also they use commonly to swear by their Swords. Also the *Scythians* used, when they would bind any solemn Vow or Combination amongst them, to drink a Bowl of Blood together, vowing thereby to spend their last Blood in that Quarrel : and even so do the wild *Scots*, as you may read in *Buchanan* ; and some of the Northern *Irish*. Likewise at the kindling

Prayers to Swords

kindling of the Fire, and lighting of Candles, they say certain Prayers, and use some other superstitious Rites, which shew that they honour the Fire and the Light: for all those Northern Nations having been used to be annoyed with much Cold and Darknes, are wont therefore to have the Fire and the Sun in great Veneration: like as contrariwise the *Moors* and *Egyptians*, which are much offended and grieved with extreme Heat of the Sun, do every Morning when the Sun ariseth, fall to cursing and banning of him as their Plague. You may also read in the same Book, in the Tale of *Arfacomas*, that it was the manner of the *Scythians*, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any Forces of People to joyn with him in his Revenge, to sit in some publick Place for certain Days upon an Ox-hide, to which there would resort all such Persons as, being disposed to take Arms, would enter into his Pay, or joyn with him in his Quarrel. And the same you may likewise read to have been the ancient Manner of the wild *Scots*, which are indeed the very natural *Irish*. Moreover the *Scythians* used to swear by their King's Hand, as *Olaus* sheweth. And so do the *Irish* use now to swear by their Lord's Hand; and to forswear it, hold it more criminal than to swear by God. Also the *Scythians* said, That they were once a Year turned into Wolves, and so is it written of the *Irish*: though Master *Camden* in a better sense doth suppose it was a Disease, called *Lycanthropia*,

pia, so named of the Wolf. And yet some of the *Irish* do use to make the Wolf their Gossip. The *Scythians* used also to seeth the Flesh in the Hide; and so do the Northern *Irish*. The *Scythians* used to draw the Blood of the Beast living, and to make Meat thereof: and so do the *Irish* in the North still. Many such Customs I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of Marrying, of Burying, of Dancing, of Singing, of Feasting, of Cursing, though Christians have wiped out the most part of them: by Resemblance whereof it might plainly appear to you, that the Nations are the same, but that by the reckoning of these few, which I have told unto you, I find my Speech drawn out to a greater Length than I purposed. Thus much only for this time, I hope, shall suffice you, to think that the *Irish* are anciently deduced from the *Scythians*.

Eudox. Surely, *Iren.* I have heard in these few Words, that from you which I would have thought had been impossible to have been spoken of Times so remote, and Customs so ancient: with Delight whereof I was all that while as it were intranced, and carried so far from myself, as that I am now right sorry that you ended so soon. But I marvel much how it cometh to pass that in so long continuance of Time, and so many Ages come between, yet any jot of those old Rites and superstitious Customs should remain amongst them.

Iren.

Iren. It is no cause of wonder at all, for it is the manner of many Nations to be very superstitious and diligent Observers of old Customs and Antiquities, which they receive by continual Tradition. from their Parents, by recording of their Bards and Chronicles, in their Songs, and by daily use and Ensamble of their Elders.

Eudox. But have you (I pray you) observed any such Customs amongst them, brought likewise from the *Spaniards* or *Gaules*, as these from the *Scythians*? that may sure be very material to your first Purpose.

Iren. Some perhaps I have, and who that will upon this Occasion more diligently mark and compare their Customs, shall find many more. But there are fewer remaining, of the *Gaules* or *Spaniards*, than of the *Scythians*, by reason that the Parts which they then possessed, lying upon the coast of the Western and Southern Sea, were sithence visited with Strangers and forreign People, repairing thither for Traffick, and for fishing, which is very plentiful upon those Coasts: for the Trade and Interdeal of Sea-Coast-Nations one with another, worketh more Civility and good Fashions, (all Seamen being naturally desirous of new Fashions) than amongst the Inland Coast, which are seldom seen of Forreigners; yet some of such as I
have

have noted, I will recount unto you. And first I will for the better Credit of the rest, shew you one out of their Statutes, among which it is enacted, that no man shall wear his Beard, only on the upper Lip, shaving all his Chin. And this was the ancient Manner of the *Spaniards*, as yet it is of all the *Mahometans*, to cut off all their Beards close, save only their *Muschachies* which they wear long. And the cause of this Use was, for that they being bred in a hot Countrey, found much Hair on their Faces and other Parts to be noyous unto them; for which Cause they did cut it most away: like as contrarily all other Nations brought up in cold Countreys, do use to nourish their Hair to keep them the warmer; which was the Cause that the *Scythians* and *Scots* wore Glibbs (as I shewed you) to keep their Heads warm, and long Beards to defend their Faces from Cold. From them also (I think) came saffron Shirts and Smocks, which were devised by them in those hot Countreys, where saffron is made very common and rife, for avoiding that Evil which cometh by much sweating, and long wearing of Linen: also the Women amongst the old *Spaniards* had the Charge of all Household Affairs, both at home and abroad, (as *Boemus* writeth) though now the *Spaniards* use it quite otherwise. And so have the *Irish* Women the Trust and Care of all things both at Home and in the Field. Likewise round Leather Targets is the *Spanish* Fashion, who used it (for the most part) painted, which in *Ireland* they use also in many Places,

Places, coloured after their rude Fashion. Moreover the Manner of their Womens riding on the wrong side of the Horse, I mean with their Faces toward the right side, as the *Irish* use, is (as they say) old *Spanish*, and some say *African*, for amongst them, the Women (they say) used so to ride. Also the deep Smock Sleeve, which the *Irish* Women use, they say was old *Spanish*, and is used yet in *Barbary*: and yet that should seem rather to be an old *English* Fashion; for in Armory the Fashion of the *Manche*, which is given in Arms, by many, being indeed nothing else but a Sleeve, is fashioned much like to that Sleeve. And that Knights in ancient times used to wear their Mistresses or Love's Sleeve upon their arms; as appeareth by that which is written of Sir *Launcelot*, that he wore the Sleeve of the fair Maid of *Astelothe* in a Tourney, whereat Queen *Guenever* was much displeased.

Eudox. Your Concept is good, and well fitting for things so far grown from certainty of Knowledge and Learning, only upon Likelyhoods and Conjectures. But have you any Customs remaining from the *Gaules* or *Britains*?

Iren. I have observed a few of either; and who will better search into them, may find more: And first, the Profession of their *Bardes* was (as *Cæsar* writeth) usual amongst the *Gaules*, and the same was also common amongst the *Britains*,
and

and is not yet altogether left off with the *Welsh*, which are their Posterity. For all the Fashions of the *Gaules* and *Britains*, as he testifieth, were much like. The long Darts came also from the *Gaules*, as you may read in the same *Cesar*, and in *Jo. Boemus*. Likewise the said *Jo. Boemus* writeth, that the *Gaules* used Swords a handful broad, and so do the *Irish* now. Also they used long wicker Shields in Battail, that should cover their whole Bodies, and so do the Northern *Irish*. But I have not seen such fashioned Targets used in the Southern parts, but only amongst the Northern People, and *Irish Scots*: I do think that they were brought in rather by the *Scythians* than by the *Gaules*. Also the *Gaules* used to drink their Enemies Blood, and paint themselves there with. So also they write, that the old *Irish* were wont, and so have I seen some of the *Irish* do, but not their Enemies, but Friends Blood: as namely, at the Execution of a notable Traitor at *Limerick*, called *Murrough O-Brien*, I saw an old Woman, which was his Foster-Mother, take up his Head, whilst he was quartered, and suck up all the Blood that run thereout, saying, That the Earth was not worthy to drink it; and therewith also steeped her Face and Breast, and tore her Hair, crying out and shrieking most terribly.

Eudox. You have very well run through such Customs as the *Irish* have derived from the first old Nations which inhabited the Land; namely, the

Darts, Swords, Shields, Drinking Blood

the *Scythians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Gaules*, and the *Britains*. It now remaineth that you take in hand the Customs of the old *English* which are amongst the *Irish*; of which I do not think that you shall have much cause to find fault with, considering that by the *English*, most of the old bad *Irish* Customs were abolished, and more civil Fashions brought in their stead.

Iren. You think otherwise, *Eudox.* than I do; for the chiefest Abuses which are now in that Realm, are grown from the *English*, and some of them are now much more lawless and licentious than the very wild *Irish*: so that as much care as was by them had to reform the *Irish*, so and much more must now be used to reform them: so much Time doth alter the Manners of Men.

Eudox. That seemeth very strange which you say, that Men should so much degenerate from their first Natures, as to grow wild.

Iren. So much can Liberty and ill Examples do.

Eudox. What Liberty had the *English* there, more than they had here at home? Were not the Laws planted amongst them at the first, and had they not Governours to curb and keep them still in Awe and Obedience?

E

Iren.

Iren. They had, but it was for the most part such as did more hurt than good ; for they had Governours for the most part of themselves, and commonly out of the two Families of the *Geraldines* and *Butlers*, both Adversaries and Corrivals one against the other: who though for the most part they were but Deputies under some of the Kings of *England's* Sons, Brethren, or other near Kinsmen, who were the King's Lieutenants ; yet they swayed so much, as they had all the Rule, and the others but the Title. Of which *Butlers* and *Geraldines*, albeit (I must confess) there were very brave and worthy Men, as also of other the Peers of that Realm, made Lord Deputies, and Lord Justices at sundry times ; yet through Greatness of their late Conquests and Seigniories, they grew insolent, and bent both the Regal Authority, and also their private Powers one against another, to the utter Subversion of themselves, and strengthening of the *Irish* again. This you may read plainly discovered by a Letter written from the Citizens of *Cork* out of *Ireland*, to the Earl of *Sbrewsbury* then in *England*, and remaining yet upon Record, both in the *Tower of London*, and also among the Chronicles of *Ireland* ; wherein it is by them complained, that the *English* Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great Possessions in *Ireland*, began, through Pride and Insolency, to make private Wars one against another : and when either part was weak, they would wage
and

and draw in the *Irish* to take their part; by which means they both greatly encouraged and enabled the *Irish*, which till that time had been shut up within the Mountains of *Slewlogher*, and weakened and disabled themselves; insomuch, that their Revenues were wonderfully impaired, and some of them which are there reckoned to have been able to have spent 12 or 1300 Pounds *per Annum*, of old Rent, (that I may say no more) besides their Commodities of Creeks and Havens, were now scarce able to dispend the third part. From which Disorder, and through other huge Calamities which have come upon them thereby, they are almost now grown like the *Irish*; I mean of such *English* as were planted above towards the West; for the *English Pale* hath preserved itself through nearness of the State, in reasonable Civility: but the rest which dwelt in *Connaught* and in *Mounster*, which is the sweetest Soil of *Ireland*, and some in *Leinster* and *Ulster*, are degenerate; yea, and some of them have quite shaken off their *English* Names, and put on *Irish*, that they might be altogether *Irish*.

Eudox. Is it possible that any should so far grow out of Frame, that they should, in so short space, quite forget their Country and their own Name? That is a most dangerous Lethargy, much worse than that of *Messala Corvinus*, who being a most learned Man, through Sickness for-

gat his own Name. But can you count us any of this kind?

Iren. I cannot, but by Report of the *Irish* themselves, who report, that the *Mac-mahones* in the *North* were anciently *English*; to wit, descended from the *Fitz-Ursula's*, which was a noble Family in *England*; and that the same appeareth by the signification of their *Irish* names. Likewise that the *Mac-swynes*, now in *Ulster*, were anciently of the *Veres* in *England*; but that they themselves, for hatred of the *English*, so disguised their Names.

Eudox. Could they ever conceive any such dislike of their own natural Countries, as that they would be ashamed of their Name, and bite at the Dug from which they sucked Life?

Iren. I wot well there should be none; but proud Hearts do oftentimes (like wanton Colts) kick at their Mothers: as we read *Alcibiades* and *Themistocles* did, who being banished out of *Athens*, fled unto the Kings of *Asia*, and there stirred them up to War against their Country, in which Wars they themselves were Chieftains. So they say did these *Mac-swynes* and *Mac-mahones*, or rather *Veres* and *Fitz-Ursula's*, for private Despight, turn themselves against *England*. For at such time as *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford* was in the Barons Wars against King *Richard* the Second, through the Malice of the Peers,
banished

banished the Realm, and proscribed, he with his Kinsman *Fitz-Ursula* fled into *Ireland*; where being prosecuted, and afterwards in *England* put to death, his Kinsman there remaining behind in *Ireland* rebelled, and conspiring with the *Irish*, did quite cast off both their *English* Name and Allegiance; since which time they have so remained still, and have since been counted meer *Irish*. The very like is also reported of the *Mack-swynes*, *Mac-mahones*, and *Mac-shebies* of *Mounster*, how they likewise were anciently *English*, and old Followers to the Earl of *Desmond*, until the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth: at which time the Earl of *Desmond* that then was, called *Thomas*, being through false Subornation (as they say) of the Queen, for some Offence by her against him conceived, brought to his death at *Tredagh* most unjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and sound Subject to the King; thereupon all his Kinsmen of the *Geraldines*, which then was a mighty Family in *Mounster*, in Revenge of that huge Wrong, rose into Arms against the King, and utterly renounced and forsook all Obedience to the Crown of *England*; to whom the said *Mac-swynes*, *Mac-shebies*, and *Mac-mahones*, being then Servants and Followers, did the like, and have ever since so continued. And with them (they say) all the People of *Mounster* went out, and many other of them which were mere *English*, thenceforth joined with the *Irish* against

the King, and termed themselves very *Irish*, taking on them *Irish* Habits and Customs, which could never since be clean wiped away ; but the Contagion hath remained still amongst their Posterities. Of which sort (they say) be most of the Surnames which end in *an*, as *Hernan*, *Shinnan*, *Mungan*, &c. the which now account themselves natural *Irish*. Other great Houses there be of the *English* in *Ireland*, which through licentious conversing with the *Irish*, or marrying, or fostering with them, or lack of meet Nurture, or other such unhappy Occasions, have degenerated from their ancient Dignities, and are now grown as *Irish* as *O-Hanlon's Breech*, as the Proverb there is.

Eudox. In truth this which you tell is a most shameful hearing, and to be reformed with most sharp Censures in so great Personages, to the terror of the meaner : for if the Lords and chief Men degenerate, what sha'l be hoped of the Peasants and baser People ? And hereby sure you have made a fair way unto yourself, to lay open the Abuses of their evil Customs, which you have now next to declare ; the which, no doubt, but are very bad, being borrowed from the *Irish*, as their Apparel, their Language, their Riding, and many other the like.

Iren. You cannot but hold them sure to be very uncivil ; for were they at the best that they were of old, when they were brought in, they should

should in so long an Alteration of Time seem very uncouth and strange. For it is to be thought, that the use of all *England* was (in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, when *Ireland* was planted with *English*) very rude and barbarous; so as if the same should be now used in *England* by any, it would seem worthy of sharp Correction, and of new Laws for Reformation: for it is but even the other Day since *England* grew civil. Therefore in counting the evil Customs of the *English* there, I will not have regard, whether the beginning thereof were *English* or *Irish*, but will have respect only to the Inconvenience thereof. And first I have to find fault with the Abuse of Language; that is, for the speaking of *Irish* among the *English*, which as it is unnatural that any People should love another's Language more than their own, so it is very inconvenient, and the Cause of many other Evils.

Eudox. It seemeth strange to me, that the *English* should take more delight to speak that Language than their own; whereas they should (methinks) rather take Scorn to inure their Tongues thereto. For it hath ever been the use of the *Conqueror*, to despise the Language of the *Conquered*, and to force him by all means to learn his: So did the *Romans* always use, in so much that there is almost no Nation in the World, but is sprinkled with their Language. It were good therefore (me-seems) to search out

Language

the original Cause of this Evil; for the same being discovered, a Redress thereof will the more easily be provided: For I think it very strange, that the *English* being so many, and the *Irish* so few as they then were left, the fewer should draw the more unto their use.

Iren. I suppose that the chief Cause of bringing in the *Irish* Language amongst them, was specially their fostering and marrying with the *Irish*, the which are two most dangerous Infections: For first, the Child that sucketh the Milk of the Nurse, must of necessity learn his first Speech of her; the which being the first inured to his Tongue, is ever after most pleasing unto him: insomuch, as though he afterwards be taught *English*, yet the smack of the first will always abide with him; and not only of the Speech, but also of the Manners and Conditions. For besides that young Children be like Apes, which will affect and imitate what they see done before them, especially by their Nurses, whom they love so well; they moreover draw into themselves, together with their Suck, even the Nature and Disposition of their Nurses: for the Mind followeth much the Temperature of the Body, and also the Words are the Image of the Mind; so as they proceeding from the Mind, the Mind must needs be affected with the Words: so that the Speech being *Irish*, the Heart must needs be *Irish*; for out of the abundance of the Heart

Heart the Tongue speaketh The next is, the marrying with the *Irish*, which how dangerous a thing it is in all Commonwealths, appeareth to every simplest Sense; and though some Great Ones have perhaps used such Matches with their Vassals, and have of them nevertheless raised worthy Issue, as *Telamon* did with *Tecmessa*, *Alexander* the Great with *Roxana*, and *Julius Cæsar* with *Cleopatra*; yet the Example is so perilous, as it is not to be adventured: for in stead of those few Good, I could count unto them infinite many Evil. And indeed how can such Matching succeed well, seeing that commonly the Child taketh most of his Nature of the Mother, besides Speech, Manners, and Inclination, which are (for the most part) agreeable to the Conditions of their Mothers? for by them they are first framed and fashioned, so as what they receive once from them, they will hardly ever after forego. Therefore are these evil Customs of fostering and marrying with the *Irish*, most carefully to be restrained: for of them two, the third Evil, that is, the Custom of Language, (which I spake of) chiefly proceedeth.

Eudox. But are there not Laws already provided for avoiding of this Evil?

Iren. Yes, I think there be; but as good never a whit as never the better: for what do Statutes avail without Penalties, or Laws with-

Dech
 out Charge of Execution? For so there is another like Law enacted against wearing of the *Irish* Apparel, but nevertheless is it observed by any, or executed by them; that have the Charge; for they in their private Discretions think it not fit to be forced upon the poor Wretches of that Country, which are not worth the Price of *English* Apparel, nor expedient to be practised against the abler sort, by reason that the Country (say they) doth yield no better; and were there better to be had, yet these were fitter to be used: as namely, the Mantle in travelling; because there be no Inns where meet Bedding may be had, so that his Mantle serves him then for a Bed. The Leather quilted Jack in journeying and in camping, for that it is fittest to be under his Shirt of Mayl, and for any occasion of sudden Service, as there happen many, to cover his Trousers on Horse-back. The great Linen Roll, which the Women wear to keep their Heads warm, after cutting their Hair, which they use in any Sickness. Besides their thick-folded Linen Shirts, their long-sleev'd Smocks, their half-sleev'd Coats, their silken Fillets, and all the rest, they will devise some colour for; either of Necessity, or of Antiquity, or of Comeliness.

Eudox. But what colour soever they alledge, methinks is not expedient that the Execution of a Law once ordained, should be left to the Discretion

cretion of the Judge, or Officer ; but that without Partiality or Regard, it should be fulfilled as well on *English* as *Irish*.

Iren. But they think this Preciseness in Reformation of Apparel; not to be so material, or greatly pertinent.

Eudox. Yes surely, but it is ; for Mens Apparel is commonly made according to their Conditions, and their Conditions are oftentimes governed by their Garments : for the Person that is gowned, is by his Gown put in Mind of Gravity, and also restrained from Lightness, by the very Unaptness of his Weed. Therefore it is written by *Aristotle*, That when *Cyrus* had overcome the *Lydians*, that were a warlike Nation, and devised to bring them to a more peaceable Life, he changed their Apparel and Musick, and instead of their short warlike Coat, clothed them in long Garments like Women ; and instead of their warlike Musick, appointed to them certain lascivious Dances, and loose Jigs ; by which, in short space, their Minds were so mollified and abated, that they forgot their former Fierceness, and became most tender and effeminate. Whereby it appeareth, that there is not a little in the Garment to the fashioning of the Mind and Conditions. But be these, which you have described, the Fashions of the *Irish* Weeds ?

Iren.

Iren. No: all these which I have rehearsed to you be not *Irish* Garments, but *English*; for the quilted Leather Jack is old *English*: for it was the proper Weed of the Horseman, as you may read in *Chaucer*, when he describeth Sir *Thopas's* Apparel and Armour, as he went to fight against the Gyant in his Robe of Shecklaton, which is that kind of gilded Leather with which they use to imbroider their *Irish* Jackets. And there likewise by all that Description, you may see the very Fashion and Manner of the *Irish* Horseman most truly set forth in his long Hose, his riding Shoes of costly Cordwain, his Hacqueton, and his Haberjeon, with all the rest thereunto belonging.

Eudox. I surely thought that the Manner had been *Irish*, for it is far differing from that we have now; as also all the Furniture of his Horse, his strong brass Bit, his sliding Reins, his shank Pillion without Stirrups, his Manner of Mounting, his Fashion of Riding, his Charging of his Spear aloft above-head, the Form of his Spear.

Iren. No sure, they be native *English*, and brought in by the *Englishmen* first into *Ireland*: neither is the same accounted an uncomely manner of Riding; for I have heard some great Warriors say, that in all the Services which they had seen abroad in foreign Countries, they never

Stirrups

never saw a more comely Man than the *Irish* Man, nor that cometh on more bravely in his Charge: neither is his manner of Mounting unseemly, though he lack Stirrups, but more ready than with Stirrups; for in his getting up, his Horse is still going, whereby he gaineth way. And therefore the Stirrup was called so in Scorn, as it were a Stay to get up, being derived of the old *English* word *Sty*; which is, to get up, or mount.

Eudox. It seemeth then that you find no fault with this manner of Riding, why then would you have the quilted Jack laid away?

Iren. I do not wish it to be laid away, but the Abuse thereof to be put away; for being used to the end that it was framed, that is, to be worn in War under a Shirt of Mayl, it is allowable; as also the Shirt of Mayl, and all his other Furniture: but to be worn daily at Home, and in Towns and civil Places, is a rude Habit, and most uncomely, seeming like a Player's painted Coat.

Eudox. But it is worn (they say) likewise of *Irish* Footmen; how do you allow of that? for I should think it very unseemly.

Iren. No, not as it is used in War; for it is worn then likewise of Footmen under their Shirts of Mayl, the which Footmen they call *Gal-lowglasses*;

Galloglass ; the which name doth discover them also to be ancient *English* ; for *Gallogla* signifies an *English* Servitor or Yeoman. And he being so armed in a long Shirt of Mayl down to the Calf of his Leg, with a long broad Ax in his Hand, was then *Pedes gravis armaturæ*, (and was instead of the Footman that now weareth a Corset) before the Corset was used, or almost invented.

Eudox. Then him belike you likewise allow in your strait Reformation of old Customs.

Iren. Both him and the Kern also (whom only I take to be the proper *Irish* Souldier) can I allow, so that they use that Habit and Custom of theirs in the Wars only, when they are led forth to the Service of their Prince, and not usually at Home, and in Civil Places ; and besides, do lay aside the evil and wild Uses which the *Galloglasse* and *Kern* do use in their common Trade of Life.

Eudox. What be those ?

Iren. Marry those be the most barbarous and loathly Conditions of any People (I think) under Heaven : for from the time that they enter into that Course, they do use all the beastly Behaviour that may be ; they oppress all Men, they spoil as well the Subject as the Enemy ; they steal, they are cruel and bloody, full of Revenge,
and

and delighting in deadly Execution, Licentious, Swearers and Blasphemers, common Ravishers of Women, and Murtherers of Children.

Eudox. These be most villainous Conditions; I marvel then that they be even used or imployed, or almost suffered to live: what good can there then be in them?

Iren. Yet surely they are very valiant, and hardy, for the most part great Indurers of Cold, Labour, Hunger, and all Hardiness, very active and strong of Hand, very swift of Foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their Enterprises, very present in Perils, very great Scorers of Death.

Eudox. Truly by this that you say, it seems that the *Irishman* is a very brave Soldier.

Iren. Yea surely in that rude kind of Service he beareth himself very courageously. But when he cometh to Experience of Service abroad, or is put to a Piece, or a Pike, he maketh as worthy a Soldier as any Nation he meeteth with. But let us (I pray you) turn again to our Discourse of evil Customs amongst the *Irish*.

Eudox. Methinks all this which you speak of, concerneth the Customs of the *Irish* very materially; for their uses in War are of no small Importance to be considered, as well to reform those

those which are evil, as to confirm and continue those which are good. But follow you your own Course, and shew what other their Customs you have to dislike of.

Iren. There is amongst the *Irish* a certain kind of People called *Bardes*, which are to them instead of Poets, whose Profession is to set forth the Praises or Dispraises of Men in their Poems or Rithmes; the which are had in so high Regard and Estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them for fear to run into Reproach thorough their Offence, and to be made infamous in the Mouths of all Men. For their Verses are taken up with a general Applause, and usually sung at all Feasts and Meetings by certain other Persons, whose proper Function that is, who also receive for the same great Rewards and Reputation amongst them.

Eudox. Do you blame this in them, which I would otherwise have thought to have been worthy of good Accompt, and rather to have been maintained and augmented amongst them, than to have been disliked: for I have read, that in all Ages Poets have been had in special Reputation, and that (methinks) not without great Cause; for besides their sweet Inventions and most witty Layes, they have always used to set forth the Praises of the Good and Vertuous, and to beat down and disgrace the Bad and Vicious.

Bards

So that many brave young Minds have oftentimes through hearing the Praises and famous *Eulogies*, of worthy men sung and reported unto them, been stirred up by the like Commendations, and so to strive to the like Deserts. So they say that the *Lacedemonians* were more excited to desire of Honour, with the excellent Verses of the Poet *Tirteus*, than with all the Exhortations, of their Captains or Authority of their Rulers and Magistrates.

Iren. It is most true, that such Poets as in their Writings do labour to better the Manners of Men, and thorough the sweet bait of their Numbers to steal into the young Spirits a desire of Honour and Virtue, are worthy to be had in great Respect. But these *Irish Bards* are for the most part of another Mind, and so far from instructing young Men in moral Discipline, that they themselves do more deserve to be sharply disciplined: for they seldom use to choose unto themselves the Doings of good Men for the Arguments of their Poems, but whomsoever they find to be most licentious of Life, most bold and lawless in his Doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of Disobedience and rebellious Disposition; him they set up and glorify in their Rithmes, him they praise to the People, and to young Men make an Example to follow.

Eudox. I marvel what kind of Speeches they can find,

find, or what Faces they can put on, to praise such bad Persons as live so lawlesly and licentious upon Stealths and Spoys, as most of them do, or how can they think that any good Mind will applaud or approve the same:

Iren. There is none so bad, *Eudoxus*, but shall find some to favour his Doings; but such licentious parts as these tending for the most part to the hurt of the *English*, or Maintainance of their own leud Liberty, they themselves being most desirous thereof, do most allow. Besides this, evil things being decked and attired with the gay Attire of goodly Words, may easily deceive, and carry away the Affection of a young Mind, that is not well stayed, but desirous by some bold Adventures to make proof of himself: for being (as they all be) brought up idly without Awe of Parents, without Precepts of Masters, and without Fear of Offence; not being directed, nor imployed in any Course of Life which may carry them to Virtue, will easily be drawn to follow such as any shall set before them, for a young Mind cannot rest; if he be not still busied in some Goodness, he will find himself such business, as shall soon busy all about him. In which, if he shall find any to praise him, and to give him Encouragement, as those *Bardes* and Rithmers do for little Reward, or a share of a stolln Cow; then waxeth he most insolent, and half mad with the Love of himself, and his own leud Deeds. And as for words to set forth such

such Leudness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto, borrowed even from the Praises which are proper to Virtue itself. As of a most notorious Thief and wicked Out-law, which had lived all his Life-time of Spoil's and Robberies, one of their *Bardes* in his praise will say, That he was none of the idle Milk-sops that was brought up by the Fire-side, but that most of his days he spent in Arms and valiant Enterprizes; that he did never eat his Meat, before he had won it with his Sword; that he lay not all Night slugging in a Cabbin under his Mantle, but used commonly to keep others waking to defend their Lives; and did light his Candle at the Flames of their Houses, to lead him in the Darknes; that the Day was his Night, and the Night his day, that he loved not to be long wooing of Wenches to yield to him, but where he came he took by Force the Spoil of other Men's Love, and left but Lamentation to their Lovers; that his Musick was not the harp, nor Lays of Love, but the Cries of People, and Clashing of Armour: and finally that he died not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly bought his Death. Do you not think (*Eudoxus*) that many of these Praises might be applied to Men of best Deserts, yet are they all yielded to a most notable Traitor, and amongst some of the *Irish* not finally accounted of. For the Song, when it was first made and sung to a Person of high Degree there,

there, was bought (as their manner is) for forty Crowns.

Eudox. And well worthy sure. But tell me (I pray you) have they any Art in their Compositions? or be they any thing witty or well favoured, as Poems should be?

Iren. Yea truly, I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them; and surely they favoured of sweet Wit, and good Invention, but skilled not of the goodly Ornaments of Poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty Flowers of their natural Device, which gave good Grace and Comeliness unto them; the which it is great pity to see so abused, to the gracing of Wickedness and Vice, which with good Usage would serve to adorn and beautify Virtue. This evil Custom therefore needeth Reformation. And now next after the *Irish Kerns*, methinks the *Irish Horse-boys* would come well in order; the use of which, though Necessity (as times now be) do enforce, yet in the thorough Reformation of that Realm, they should be cut off. For the Cause why they are now to be permitted, is want of convenient Inns for lodging of Travellers on Horseback, and of Hostlers to tend their Horses by the way. But when things shall be reduced to a better pass, this needeth specially to be reformed. For out of the Frie of these Rake-hell Horse-boys, growing up in Knavery and Villany, are their *Kern* continually supply'd
and

Horse Boys

Kern

and maintained. For having been once brought up an idle Horse-boy, he will never after fall to Labour, but is only made fit for the Halter. And these also (the which is one foul over-sight) are, for the most part, bred up amongst the *Englishmen*; of whom learning to shoot in a Piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the *English*, they are afterwards, when they become *Kern*, made more fit to cut their Throats. Next to this, there is another much like, but much more leud and dishonest, and that is, of their *Carrows*; which is a kind of People that wander up and down to Gentlemens Houses, living only upon Cards and Dice; the which, though they have little or nothing of their own, yet will they play for much money; which if they win, they waste most lightly; and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make Recompence with one Stealth or another: whose only Hurt is, not that they themselves are idle Loffels, but that through Gaming, they draw others to like Leudness and Idleness. And to these may be added, another sort of like loose Fellows, which do pass up and down amongst Gentlemen by the name of *Jesters*, but are (indeed) notable Rogues, and partakers not only of many Stealths, by setting forth other Mens Goods to be stoln, but also privy to many traiterous Practises, and common Carriers of News; with desire whereof you would wonder how much the *Irish* are fed, for they send commonly up and down to know News; and if any meet with another, his second

Word

Jesters

Uses, and built by two several Nations; the one is that which you call *Folk-motes*, which were built by the *Saxons*, as the word bewraieth, for it signifieth in *Saxon* a Meeting of Folk; and these are for the most part, in Form four square, well intrenched: the others that were round, were cast up by the *Danes*, as the Name of them doth betoken; for they are called *Danes-Rathes*, that is Hills of the *Danes*; the which were by them devised, not for Treaties and Parleys, but appointed as Forts for them to gather unto in troublesome Time, when any Trouble arose. For the *Danes* being but a few in comparison of the *Saxons* (in *England*) used this for their Safety; they made those small round Hills so strongly fenced in every quarter of the hundred, to the end that if in the Night, or any other time, any troublous Cry or Uproar should happen, they might repair with all Speed unto their own Fort, which was appointed for their quarter, and there remain safe, till they could assemble themselves in greater Strength: for they were made so strong with one small Entrance, that whosoever came thither first, were he one or two, or like few, he or they might there rest safe, and defend themselves against many, till more Succour came unto them: and when they were gathered to a sufficient Number, they marched to the next Fort, and so forward till they met with the Peril, or knew the Occasions thereof. But besides these two sorts of Hills, there were anciently divers others; for some were

were raised where there had been a great Battle fought, as a Memory or Trophy thereof: others, as Monuments of Burials of the Carcasses of all those that were slain in any Field, upon whom they did throw such round Mounts, as Memorials of them; and sometimes did cast up great Heaps of Stones, (as you may read the like in many Places of the Scripture) and other whiles, they did throw up many round Heaps of Earth in a Circle, like a Garland, or pitch many long Stones on end in compass, every of which (they say) betokened some Person of Note there slain and buried, for this was their ancient Custom, before Christianity came in amongst them, that Church-yards were inclosed.

Smith

Eudox. You have very well declared the Original of their Mounts and great Stones encompassed, which some vainly term the old *Giants Trevelts*, and think that those huge Stones would not else be brought into order, or reared up without the Strength of *Giants*. And others vainly think they were never placed there by Man's Hand or Art, but only remained there so since the beginning, and were afterwards discovered by the Deluge, and laid open as then by the washing of the waters, or other like Casualty. But let them dream their own imaginations, to please themselves; you have satisfied me much better, both for that I see some Confirmation thereof in the Holy Writ, and also remember that I have read in many Histories

and Chronicles the like Mounts and Stones oftentimes mentioned.

Iren. There be many great Authorities (I assure you) to prove the same ; but as for these Meetings on Hills, whereof we were speaking, it is very inconvenient that any such should be permitted.

Eudox. But yet it is very needful (methinks) for many other Purposes ; as for the Countreys to gather together, when there is any Imposition to be laid upon them, to the which they then may all agree at such Meetings, to divide upon themselves according to their Holdings and Abilities. So as if at these Assemblies, there be any Officers, as Constables, Bayliffs, or such like amongst them, there can be no Peril, or doubt of such bad Practises.

Iren. Nevertheless, dangerous are such Assemblies, whether for Cefs or ought else ; the Constables and Officers being also of the *Irish* ; and and if any of the *English* happen to be there, even to them they may prove perilous. Therefore for avoiding of all such evil Occasions, they were best to be abolished.

Eudox. But what is that which you call Cefs ? it is a Word sure unused amongst us here ; therefore (I pray you) expound the same.

Iren.

Iren. Cefs is none other than that which you yourself called Imposition, but is in a kind unacquainted perhaps unto you: for there are Cesses of sundry sorts; one is the Cessing of Soldiers upon the Countrey. For *Ireland* being a Countrey of War, (as it is handled) and always full of Soldiers, they which have the Government, whether they find it the most ease to the Queen's Purse, or the most ready Means at hand for victualling of the Soldier, or that Necessity enforceth them thereunto, do scatter the Army abroad in the Country, and place them in Villages to take their Victuals of them, at such vacant Times as they lie not in Camp, nor are otherwise employed, in service. Another kind of Cess is, the imposing of Provisions for the Governours Housekeeping, which though it be most necessary, and be also (for avoiding of all the Evils formerly therein used) lately brought to a Composition; yet it is not without great Inconveniences, no less than here in *England*, or rather much more. The like Cess is also charged upon the the Countrey sometimes, for victualling of the Soldiers, when they lie in Garrison, at such times as there is none remaining in the Queen's Store, or that the same cannot be conveniently conveyed to their Place of Garrison. But these two are not easily to be redressed, when Necessity thereto compelleth: but as for the former, as it is not necessary, so it is most hurtful and offensive to the poor Countrey, and nothing convenient for the Soldiers themselves, who during their ly-

ing at Cels, use all kind of outrageous Disorder and Villany, both towards the poor Men which victual and lodge them, as also to all the Countrey round about them, whom they abuse, oppress, spoyl, and afflict by all the means they can invent, for they will not only not content themselves with such victuals as their Hosts, nor yet as the place perhaps affords, but they will have other meat provided for them, and *Aqua-vita* sent for, yea and Money besides laid at their Trenchers; which if they want, then about the House they walk with the wretched poor Man and his silly Wife, who are glad to purchase their Peace with any thing. By which vile Manner of Abuse, the Countrey People, yea, and the very *English* which dwell abroad, and see and sometimes feel this Outrage, grow into great Detestation of the Soldiers, and thereby into Hatred of the very Government which draweth upon them such Evils, and therefore this you may also join unto the former evil Customs, which we have to reprove in *Ireland*.

Eudox. Truly this is one not the least; and though the Persons by whom it is used, be of better Note than the former roguish sort, which you reckoned, yet the fault (methinks) is no less worthy of a Marshal.

Iren. That were a harder Course, *Eudoxus*, to redress every Abuse by a Marshal; it would seem to you very evil Surgery to cut off every unsound or sick part of the Body, which being
by

by other due Means recovered, might afterwards do very good Service to the Body again, and happily help to save the whole: therefore I think better that some good Salve for the Redress of the Evil be sought forth, than the least Part suffereth to perish: but hereof we have to speak in another Place. Now we will proceed to other like Defects, amongst which there is one general Inconvenience, which reigneth almost throughout all *Ireland*: that is, the Lords of Land, and Freeholders, do not there use to set out their Land in Farm, or for term of years, to their Tenants, but only from Year to Year, and some during Pleasure; neither indeed will the *Irish* Tenant or Husbandman otherwise take his Land, than so long as he list himself. The Reason hereof in the Tenant is, for that the Landlords there use most shamefully to rack their Tenants, laying upon them *Coigny* and *Livery* at Pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his Covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poor Husbandman either dare not bind himself to him for longer Term, or thinketh by his continual Liberty of Change, to keep his Landlord the rather in Awe from wronging of him. And the reason why the Landlord will no longer covenant with him, is, for that he daily looketh after Change and Alteration, and hovereth in Expectation of new Worlds.

What the Tenants

Eudox. But what Evil cometh hereby to the Commonwealth, or what reason is it, that any

Landlord should not set, nor any Tenant take his Land, as himself list ?

Iren. Marry the Evils which come hereby are great ; for by this means both the Landlord thinketh that he hath his Tenant more at command, to follow him into what Action soever he shall enter, and also the Tenant being left at his liberty, is fit for every Occasion of Change, that shall be offered by Time : and so much also the more ready and willing is he to run into the same ; for that he hath no such State in any his Holding, no such Building upon any Farm, no such Cost employed in fencing or husbanding the same, as might with-hold him from any such wilful Course as his Lord's Cause, or his own lewd Disposition may carry him unto. All which he hath forborn, and spared so much Expende ; for that he had no firm Estate in his Tenement, but was only a Tenant at Will, or little more and so at Will may leave it. And this Inconvenience may be reason enough to ground any Ordinance for the good of the Commonwealth, against the private Behoof or will of any Landlord that shall refuse to grant any such Term or Estate unto his Tenant, as may tend to the Good of the whole Realm.

Eudox. Indeed (me thinks) it is a great Wilfulness in any such Landlord to refuse to make any longer Farms unto their Tenants, as may besides the general good of the Realm, be also greatly
for

for their own Profit and Avail. For what reasonable Man will not think that the Tenement shall be made much better for the Lord's behoof if the Tenant may by such good Means be drawn to build himself some handfom Habitation thereon, to ditch and enclose his Ground, to manure and husband it, as good Farmers use? For when his Tenant's Term shall be expired, it will yield him in the renewing his Lease, both a good Fine, and also a better Rent. And also it shall be for the good of the Tenant likewise, who by such Buildings and Inclosures shall receive many Benefits. First by the Handsomeness of his House, he shall take more Comfort of his Life, more safe Dwelling, and a Delight to keep his said House neat and cleanly; which now being, as they commonly are, rather Swine-sties than Houses, is the chiefest cause of his so beastly manner of Life, and savage Condition, lying and living together with his Beast in one House, in one Room, in one Bed; that is clean straw, or rather a foul Dunghil. And to all these other Commodities, he shall, in short time, find a greater added; that is, his own Wealth and Riches increased, and wonderfully enlarged, by keeping his Cattle in Inclosures; where they shall always have fresh Pasture, that now is all trampled and over-run; warm Covert that now lieth open to all Weather; safe Being, that now are continually filched and stoln.

*Merr & Cattle
by way
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Iren. You have, *Eudoxus*, well accompted.

the Commodities of this one good Ordinance, amongst which this that you named last is not the least ; for all the other being most beneficial to the Landlord and Tenant, this chiefly redoundeth to the good of the Commonwealth, to have the Land thus inclosed and well fenced. For it is both a principal Bar and Impeachment unto Thieves from stealing of Cattle in the Night, and also a Gall against all Rebels and Outlaws, that shall rise up in any Numbers against the Government ; for the Thief thereby shall have much ado, first to bring forth, and afterwards to drive away his stolen Prey, but thorough the common Highways, where he shall soon be descryed and met withal : And the Rebel or open enemy, if any such shall happen, either at Home or from Abroad, shall easily be found when he cometh forth, and also be well incountred withal by a few, in so straight Passages and strong Inclosures. This therefore, when we come to the reforming of all those evil Customs before mentioned, is needful to be remembered ; but now by this time (methinks) I have well run through the evil Uses which I have observed in *Ireland*. Nevertheless I well note, that there be many more, and infinitely many more in the private Abuses of Men. But these that are most general, and tending to the Hurt of the Commonwealth, (as they have come to my remembrance) I have as briefly as I could, rehearsed unto you. And therefore now I think
best

best that we pass unto our third Part, in which we noted the Inconveniences that are in Religion.

Eudox. Surely you have very well handled these two former; and if ye shall as well go thorough the third likewise, you shall merit a very good Meed.

Iren. Little have I to say of Religion, both because the Parts thereof be not many, itself being but one) and myself have not much been conversant in that Calling; but as lightly passing by I have seen or heard: Therefore the Fault which I find in Religion is but one, but the same is universal throughout all that Country; that is, that they be all Papists by their Profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, (for the most part) that not one amongst an hundred knoweth any ground of Religion, or any Article of his Faith; but can perhaps say his *Pater-noster*, or his *Ave-Maria*, without any Knowledge or Understanding what one word thereof meaneth.

Eudox. Is it not then a little Blot to them that now hold the Place of Government, that they which now are in the Light themselves, suffer a People under their Charge, to wallow in such deadly Darkness?

Iren. That which you blame, *Eudoxus*, is not
F 5 (I suppose)

(I suppose) any fault of Will in those godly Fathers which have charge thereof ; but the Inconvenience of the time and troublous Occasions, wherewith that wretched Realm hath continually been turmoiled. For Instruction in Religion needeth quiet Times ; and e'er we seek to settle a sound Discipline in the Clergy, we must purchase Peace unto the Laity : for it is ill time to preach among Swords, and most hard, or rather impossible, it is to settle a good Opinion in the Minds of Men, for Matters of Religion doubtful, which have doubtless an evil Opinion of us. For e'er a new be brought in, the old must be removed.

Eudox. Then belike it is meet that some fitter time be attended, that God send Peace and Quietness there in Civil Matters, before it be attempted in Ecclesiastical. I would rather have thought that (as it is said) Correction must first begin at the House of God, and that the Care of the Soul should have been preferred before the Care of the Body.

Iren. Most true, *Eudox.* the Care of the Soul, and Soul Matters, is to be preferred before the Care of the Body, in consideration of the Worthiness thereof ; but not till the time of Reformation. For if you should know a wicked Person dangerously sick, having now both Soul and Body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable ; would you not think it evil Advertisement to bring the Preacher before the Physician ? For if
his

his Body were neglected, it is like that his languishing Soul being disquieted by his diseaseful Body, would utterly refuse and loath all spiritual Comfort; but if his Body were first recured and brought to good Frame, should there not then be found best time to recover the Soul also? So it is in the State of a Realm: Therefore (as I said) it is expedient, first to settle such a Course of Government there, as thereby both Civil Disorders, and Ecclesiastical Abuses, may be reformed and amended; whereto needeth not any such great distance of times, as you suppose: I require but one joint Resolution for both, that each might second and confirm the other.

Eudox. That we shall see when we come thereunto; in the mean time I conceive thus much, as you have delivered, touching the general Fault, which you suppose in Religion, to wit, that it is Popish: but do you find no particular Abuses therein, nor in the Ministers thereof?

Iren. Yes, verily, for what ever Disorders you see in the Church of *England*, ye may find there and many more: namely, gross Simony, greedy Covetousness, fleshly Incontinency, careless Sloth, and generally all disordered Life in the common Clergymen. And besides all these, they have their particular Enormities: For all *Irish* Priests, which now enjoy the Church-Livings, they are in a manner meer Lay-men, saving that they have taken

Clergy

taken Holy Orders; but otherwise they do go, and live like Lay-men, follow all kind of Husbandry, and other worldly Affairs, as other *Irish-men* do. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the People, nor administer the Communion: but Baptism they do: for they christen yet after the Popish Fashion, only they take the Tythes and Offerings, and gather what Fruit else they may of their Livings, the which they convert as badly; and some of them (they say) pay as due Tributes and Shares of their Livings to their Bishops. (I speak of those which are *Irish*) as they receive them duly.

Eudox. But is that suffered amongst them? It is wonder, but that the Gouverneurs do redress such shameful Abuses.

Iren. How can they, since they know them not? For the *Irish* Bishops have their Clergy in such Awe and Subjection under them, that they dare not complain of them; so as they may do to them what they please: for they knowing their own Unworthiness and Incapacity, and that they are therefore still removeable at their Bishop's Will, yield what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he listeth: yea, and some of them whose Diocesses are in remote Parts, somewhat out of the World's eye, do not at all bestow the Benefices which are in their own Donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set their own Servants and Horse-boys to take up

up the Tythes and Fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great Lands, and build fair Castles upon the same. Of which Abuse, if any question be moved, they have a very seemly Colour and Excuse, that they have no worthy Ministers to bestow them upon, but keep them so bestowed for any such sufficient Person as any shall bring unto them.

Eudox. But is their no Law nor Ordinance to meet with this Mischief? Nor hath it never before been looked into?

Iren. Yes it seems it hath; for there is a Statute there enacted in *Ireland*, which seems to have been grounded upon a good meaning, that whatsoever *Englishman*, of good Conversation and Sufficiency, shall be brought unto any of the Bishops, and nominated unto any Living within their Diocese that is presently void, that he shall (without Contradiction) be admitted thereunto before any *Irish*.

Eudox. This is surely a very good Law, and well provided for this Evil, whereof you speak; but why is not the same observed?

Iren. I think it is well observed, and that none of the Bishops transgress the same; but yet it worketh no reformation thereof, for many Defects. First, there are no such sufficient *English* Ministers sent over, as might be presented

to any Bishop for any Living; but the most part of such *English* as come over thither of themselves, are either unlearned or Men of some bad Note, for which they have forsaken *England*: So as the Bishop to whom they shall be presented, may justly reject them, as Incapable and insufficient. Secondly, The Bishop himself is perhaps an *Irishman*, who being made Judge by that Law of the Sufficiency of the Ministers, may at his own will, dislike of the *Englishman*, as unworthy in his opinion, and admit of any *Irish*, whom he shall think more for his turn. And if he shall at the Instance of any *Englishman* of Countenance there, whom he will not displease, accept of any such *English* Minister as shall be tendred unto him, yet he will under-hand carry such a hard hand over him; or by his Officers wring him so sore, that he will soon make him weary of his poor Living. Lastly, the Benefices themselves, are so mean, and of so small Profit in those *Irish* Countries, through the ill Husbandry of the *Irish* People which do inhabit them, that they will not yield any competent Maintainance for any honest Minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a Gown, And were all this redressed, (as haply it might be) yet what good should any *English* Minister do amongst them, by teaching or preaching to them, which either cannot understand him, or will not hear him? or what Comfort of Life shall he have, where his Parishioners are so insatiable, so intractable, so ill-affected to him, as they usually be to all the *English*? Or finally how dare

dare almost any honest Minister, that are peaceable, civil Men, commit his Safety to the Hands of such Neighbours, as the boldest Captains dare scarcely dwell by ?

Eudox. Little good then (I see) was by that Statute wrought, however well intended ; but the Reformation thereof must grow higher, and be brought from a stronger Ordinance than the Commandment or Penalty of a Law, which none dare inform or complain of, when it is broken. But have you any more of those Abuses in the Clergy ?

Iren. I could perhaps reckon more, but I perceive my speech to grow too long, and these may suffice to judge of the general Disorders which reign amongst them ; as for the Particulars they are too many to be reckoned. For the Clergy there, (excepting the grave Fathers which are in high Place about the State, and some few others which are lately planted in their new College) are generally bad licentious and most disordered.

Eudox. You have then (as I suppose) gone through these three first parts which you proposed unto yourself : to wit, the Inconveniences, which you observed in the Laws, in the Customs, and in the Religion of that Land. The which (methinks) you have so thoroughly touched, as that nothing more remaineth to be spoken thereof.

Iren.

Iren. Not so thoroughly as you suppose, that nothing can remain but, but so generally as I purposed; that is, to lay open the general Evils of that Realm, which do hinder the good Reformation thereof. For to count the particular Faults of private Men, should be a work too infinite; yet some there be of that Nature, that though they be in private Men, yet their Evil reacheth to a general Hurt: as the Extortion of Sheriffs, and their Sub-Sheriffs, and Bailiffs; the Corruption of Victuallers, Cessors, and Purveyors; the Disorders of Seneschals, Captains, and their Soldiers; and many such like. All which I will only name here, that their Reformation may be mended in place where it most concerneth. But there is one very foul Abuse, which, by the way, I may not omit; and that is, in Captains, who notwithstanding that they are specially imployed to make Peace, through strong Execution of War; yet they do so dandle their Doings, and dally in the Service to them committed, as if they would not have the Enemy subdued, or utterly beaten down; for fear, lest afterwards they should need Employment, and so be discharged of Pay: for which Cause some of them that are laid in Garrison, do so handle the matter, that they will do no great hurt to the Enemies; yet for colour sake, some Men they will kill, even half with the Consent of the enemy, being Persons either of base Regard, or Enemies to the Enemy; whose
Heads

Heads estfoons they send to the Governour for a Commendation of their great Endeavour, telling how weighty a Service they performed, by cutting off such and such dangerous Rebels.

Eudox. Truly this is a pretty Mockery, and not to be permitted by the Governours.

Iren. But how can the Governour know readily what Persons those were, and what the Purpose of their killing was; yea, and what will you say, if the Captains do justify this their Course by Ensample of some of their Governours, which (under *Benedicite* I do tell it to you) do practice the like Sleight in their Governments.

Eudox. Is it possible? Take heed what you say, *Irenæus*.

Iren. To you only, *Eudoxus*, I do tell it, and that even with great Heart's Grief, and inward Trouble of Mind, to see her Majesty so much abused by some who are put in special Trust of those great Affairs: of which, some being Martial Men, will not do always what they may for quieting of things, but will rather wink at some Faults, and will suffer them unpunished, lest that (having put all things in that Assurance of Peace that they might) they should seem afterwards not to be needed, nor continued in their Governments, with so great a Charge to her Majesty.

Majesty. And therefore they do cunningly carry their Course of Government, and from one hand to another do bandy the Service like a Tennis-ball, which they will never strike quite away, for fear lest afterwards they should want.

Eudox. Do you speak of under-Magistrates, *Arenaus*, or principal Governours ?

I do speak of no particulars ; but the Truth may be found out by Trial and reasonable Insight into some of their Doings. And if I should say, there is some Blame thereof in the principal Governours, I think I might also shew some reasonable Proof of my Speech. As for Example, some of them seeing the End of their Government to draw nigh, and some Mischiefs and troublous Practise growing up, which afterwards may work Trouble to the next succeeding Governour, will not attempt the Redress or cutting off thereof, either for fear they should leave the Realm unquiet at the end of their Government, or that the next that cometh should receive the same too quiet, and so haply win more praise thereof than they before. And therefore they will not (as I said) seek at all to repress that Evil, but will either by granting Protection for a time, or holding some Emparance with the Rebel, or by Treaty of Commissioners, or by other like Devices, only smother and keep down the Flame of the Mischief, so as it may not break out in their time of Government ; what comes afterwards, they
care

care not, or rather with the worst. This course hath been noted in some Governours.

Eudox. Surely, *Irenaus*, this, if it were true, should be worthy of an heavy Judgment; but it is hardly to be thought, that any Governour should so much either envy the Good of that Realm, which is put into his hand, or defraud her Majesty, who trusteth him so much, or malign his Successor which shall possess his place, as to suffer an Evil to grow up, which he might timely have kept under; or perhaps to nourish it with coloured Countenance, or such sinister Means.

Iren. I do not certainly avouch so much, *Eudoxus*, but the Sequel of things doth in a manner prove, and plainly speak so much, that the Governours usually are envious one of another's greater Glory; which if they would seek to excel by better Governing, it should be a most laudable Emulation: but they do quite otherwise. For this (as you may mark) is they common Order of them, that who cometh next in Place will not follow that Course of Government, however good, which his Predecessors held, either for Disdain of himself, or doubt to have his Doings drowned in another Man's Praise; but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former: as if the former thought (by keeping under the *Irish*) to reform them; the next by discountenancing the *English*, will curry Favour with the
Irish,

Irish, and so make his Government seem plausible, as having all the *Irish* at his Command: but he that comes after, will perhaps follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort, as he will suck sweet out of them both, and leave bitterness to the poor Country; which if he that comes after shall seek to redress he shall perhaps find such Crosses as he shall hardly be able to bear, or do any good that might work the Disgrace of his Predecessors. Examples you may see hereof in the Governours of late times sufficiently; and in others of former times more manifestly, when the Government of that Realm was committed sometimes to the *Geraldines*, as when the House of *York* had the Crown of *England*; sometimes to the *Butlers*, as when the House of *Lancaster* got the same. And other whiles, when an *English* Governor was appointed, he perhaps found Enemies of both.

Eudox. I am sorry to hear so much as you report, and now I begin to conceive somewhat more of the Cause of her continual wretchedness than heretofore I found, and wish that this Inconvenience were well looked into; for sure (methinks) it is more weighty than all the former, and more hardly to be redressed in the Governour than in the Governed; as a Malady in a Vital Part, is more incurable than in an External.

Iren. You say very true : but now that we have thus ended all the Abuses and Inconveniences, of that Government, which was our first part : it followeth, that we pass unto the second part, which was of the means to cure and redress the same : which we must labour to reduce to the first beginning thereof.

Eudox. Right so, *Irenæus*, for by that which I have noted in all this your Discourse, you suppose, that the whole Ordinance and Institution of that Realm's Government, was both at first, when it was placed, evil plotted ; and also since, through other Oversight, came more out of square to that Disorder, which it is now come unto, like as two indirect Lines, the further that they are drawn out, the further they go asunder.

Iren. I do see, *Eudoxus*, and as you say, so think, that the longer that Government thus continueth, in the worse Course will the Realm be ; for it is all in vain that they now strive and endeavour by fair Means and peaceable Plots, to redress the same, without first removing all these Inconveniences, and new-framing (as it were) in the Forge, all that is worn out of Fashion : For all other Means will be but as lost Labour, by patching up one hole to make many. For the *Irish* do strongly hate and abhor all Reformation and Subjection to the *English*, by reason, that having been once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their Possessions. So

as now they fear, that if they were again brought under, they should likewise be expelled out of all: which is the Cause that they hate the *English* Government according to the saying, *Quem metuant oderunt*. Therefore the Reformation must now be the strength of a greater Power.

Eudox. But (methinks) that might be by making of good Laws, and establishing of new Statutes, with sharp Penalties and Punishments, for amending of all that is presently amiss, and not (as you suppose) to begin all as it were anew, and to alter the whole Form of the Government: which how dangerous a thing it is to attempt, you yourself must needs confess; and they which have the managing of the Realm's whole Policy, cannot without great Cause, fear and refrain: or all Innovation is perilous, insomuch, as though it be meant for the better, yet so many Accidents and fearful Events may come between, as that it may hazard the loss of the whole.

Iren, Very true, *Eudoxus*, all Change is to be shunned, where the Affairs stand in such sort, as that they may continue in quietness, or be assured at all to abide as they are. But that in the Realm of *Ireland* we see much otherwise; for every day we perceive the Troubles growing more upon us, and one Evil growing upon another; insomuch, as there is no part now sound or ascertained, but all have their Ears upright, waiting

ing when the Watch-word shall come, that they should all arise generally into Rebellion, and cast away the *English* Subjection. To which there now little wanteth; for I think the word be already given, and there wanteth nothing but opportunity; which truly is the Death of one Noble Person, who being himself most stedfast to his Sovereign Queen, and his Country, coasting upon the *South-Sea*, stoppeth the In-gate of all that Evil which is looked for, and holdeth in all those which are at his Beck, with the Terror of his Greatness, and the Assurance of his most immoveable Loyalty. And therefore where you think that good and sound Laws might amend and reform things there amiss, you think surely amiss. For it is vain to prescribe Laws, where no man careth for keeping of them, nor feareth the Danger for breaking of them. But all the Realm is first to be reformed, and Laws are afterwards to be made, for keeping and continuing it in that reformed Estate.

Eudox. How then do you think is the Reformation thereof to be begun, if not by Laws and Ordinances?

Iren. Even by the Sword; for all these Evils must first be cut away, by a strong Hand; before any good can be planted: like as the corrupt Branches and unwholsome Boughs are first to be pruned, and the foul moss cleansed and scraped away.

away, before the Tree can bring forth any good Fruit.

Eudox. Did you blame me even now for wishing of Kern Horse-Boys and Carrows to be clean cut off, as too violent a means; and do you yourself now prescribe the same Medicine? Is not the Sword the most violent Redress that may be used for an Evil.

Iren. It is so, but where no other Remedy may be devised, nor hope of Recovery had, there must needs this violent means be used. As for the loose kind of People which you would have cut off, I blamed it; for that they might otherwise, perhaps, be brought to good, as namely, by this way which I set before you.

Eudox. Is not your way all one with the former in Effect, which you found fault with; save only in this odds, That I said by the Halter, and you said by the Sword: what difference is there?

Iren. There is surely great, when you shall understand it; for by the sword which I named, I did not mean the cutting off all that Nation with the Sword; which far be it from me that I should ever think so desperately, or wish so uncharitably: but by the Sword, I mean, the Royal Power of the Prince, which ought to stretch itself forth in the chiefest Strength, to the

the redressing and cutting off those Evils which I before blamed, and not of the People which are evil. For evil People, by good Ordinances and Government, may be made good; but the Evil that is of it self evil, will never become Good.

Eudox. I pray you then declare your Mind at large, how you would wish that Sword, which you mean, to be used to the Reformation of all those Evils.

Iren. The first thing must be, to send over into that Realm such a strong Power of Men, as should perforce bring in all that rebellious Rout and loose People, which either do now stand out in open Arms; or wandering in Companies, do keep the Woods, spoiling the good Subjects.

Eudox. You speak now, *Irenæus*, of an infinite Charge to her Majesty, to send over such an Army as should tread down all that standeth before them on Foot, and lay on the Ground all the stiff-necked People of that Land: for there is now but one Out-law of any great reckoning, to wit the Earl of *Tyrone*, abroad in Arms; against whom, you see, what huge Charges she hath been at this last Year, in sending of Men, providing of Victuals, and making head against him: yet there is little or nothing at all done, but the Queen's Treasure spent, her People wasted, the poor Country troubled, and the Enemy nevertheless brought into no more subjection,

than he was, or list outwardly to shew, which in effect is none, but rather a Scorn of her Power, and emboldning of a proud Rebel, and an Encouragement to all like leudly-disposed Traytors, that shall dare to lift up their Heel against their Sovereign Lady. Therefore it were hard Counsel to draw such an exceeding great Charge upon her, whose Event should be so uncertain.

Iren. True indeed, if the Event should be uncertain; but the certainty of the Effect hereof shall be so infallible, as that no reason can gainsay it; neither shall the charge of all this Army, (the which I demand) be much greater, than so much as in these last two Years Wars hath vainly been expended. For I dare undertake that it hath cost the Queen above 200000 Pounds already; and for the present Charge which she is at there, it amounteth to very near 12000 Pounds a Month whereof cast you the Account; yet nothing is done. The which Sum had it been employed as it should be, would have effected all this which now I go about.

Eudox. How mean you to have it employed? but to be spent in the Pay of Soldiers, and Provision of Victuals?

Iren. Right so; but it is now not disbursed, at once, as it might be, but drawn out into a long length, by sending over now 20000 Pounds, and next half Year ten thousand Pounds; so as the
Soldier,

Soldier, in the mean time for want of due Provision of Victual, and good Payment of his due, is starved and consumed; that of 1000 which came over lusty able Men, in half a year there are not left 500. And yet is the Queen's charge never a whit the less, but what is not paid in present Mony, is accounted in Debt, which will not be long unpaid; for the Captain half of whose Soldiers are dead, and the other Quarter never mustered, nor seen, comes shortly to demand Payment of his whole Account; where by good Means of some great ones, and privy Sharings with the Officers and Servants of other some, he receiveth his Debt, much less perhaps than was due, yet much more indeed than he justly deserved.

Eudox. I take this, sure, to be no good Husbandry; for what must needs be spent, as good spend it at once, where is enough, as to have it drawn out, into long Delays, seeing that thereby both the Service is much hindred, and yet nothing saved. But it may be, *Irenæus*, that the Queen's Treasure in so great Occasions of disbursements (as it is well known she hath been lately) is not always so ready nor so plentiful, as it can spare so great a Sum together; but being paid as it is, now some, and then some, it is no great Burthen unto her, nor any great impoverishment to her Coffers; seeing by such Delay of Time, it daily cometh in as fast as she parteth it out.

Iren. It may be as you say ; but for the going through of so honourable a Course, I doubt not but if the Queen's Coffers be not so well stored, (which we are not to look into) but that the whole Realm, which now as things are used, do feel a continual Burden of that wretched Realm hanging upon their Backs, would, for a small Riddance of all that Trouble, be once troubled for all ; and put to all their Shoulders, and helping Hands, and Hearts also, to the defraying of that Charge most gladly and willingly : and surely the Charge, in effect, is nothing to the infinite great Good which should come thereby, both to the Queen and all this Realm generally, as, when time serveth, shall be shewed.

Eudox. How many Men would you require to the furnishing of this which ye take in hand ? And how long space would you have them entertained ?

Iren. Verily not above 10000 Footmen, and a 1000 Horse, and all these not above the space of a Year and a half ; for I would still as the Heat of the Service abateth, abate the Number in Pay, and make other Provision for them as I will shew.

Eudox. Surely it seemeth not much which you require, nor no long time ; but how would you have them used ? Would you lead forth
your

your Army against the Enemy, and seek him where he is to fight?

Iren. No, *Eudoxus*, that would not be; for it is well known that he is a flying Enemy, hiding himself in Woods and Bogs, from whence he will not draw forth but into some strait Passage, or perillous Foard, where he knows the Army must needs pass; there will he lie in wait, and if he find Advantage fit, will dangerously hazard the troubled Soldier. Therefore to seek him out that still flitteth, and follow him that can hardly be found, were vain and bootless. But I would divide my Men in Garison upon his Country, in such Places as I should think might most annoy him.

Eudox. But how can that be, *Irenæus*, with so few Men? For the Enemy, as you may see, is not all in one Country, but some in *Ulster*, some in *Connaught*, and others in *Leinster*. So as to plant strong Garisons in all those Places, should need many more Men than you speak of; or to plant all in one, and to leave the rest naked, should be but to leave them to the Spoil.

Iren. I would wish the chief Power of the Army to be garison'd in one Countrey that is strongest, and the other upon the rest that is weakest. As for example, the Earl of *Tyrone* is now accounted the strongest, upon him would I lay 8000 Men in Garison; 1000 upon *Pheagh Mac-*

Hugh and the *Cavanaghes*; and 1000 upon some Parts of *Connaught*, to be at the Direction of the Governour.

Eudox. I see now all your Men bestowed; but what places would you set their Garisons, that they might rise out most conveniently to service? And though perhaps I am ignorant of the Places, yet I will take the Map of *Ireland*, and lay it before me, and make mine Eyes (in the mean time) my School-masters, to guide my Understanding to judge of your Plot.

Iren. Those 8000 in *Ulster*, I would divide likewise into four Parts, so as there should be 2000 Footmen in every Garison; the which I would thus place; upon the *Black Water*, in some convenient Place, as high upon the River as might be, I would lay one Garison; another would I put at *Casile-liffer*, or thereabouts, so as they should have all the Passages upon the River to *Loughfoyle*; the third I would place about *Fernanagh*, or *Bundroife*, so as they might lie between *Connaught* and *Ulster*, to serve upon both sides as occasion shall be offered: and this therefore would I have stronger than any of the rest, because it should be most enforced, and most employed; and that they might put Wards at *Balls-shanon* and *Belick*, and all those Passages. The last would I set about *Monaghan* or *Belturbut*, so as it should front both upon the Enemy that way, and also keep the Countreys of *Cavan* and *Meath* in

in awe, from Passage of Stragglers from those Parts, whence they use to come forth, and oftentimes use to work much Mischief. And to every of these Garrisons of 2000 Footmen, I would have 200 Horsemen added; for the one without the other can do but little Service. The four Garrisons thus being placed, I would have to be victualled before-hand for half a Year; which you will say to be hard, considering the Corruption and usual Waste of Victuals. But why should not they be as well victualled for so long time, as the Ships are usually for a Year, and sometimes two; seeing it is easier to keep Victuals on Land than Water? Their Bread I would have in Flower, so as it might be baked still to serve their necessary Want. Their Beer there also brewed within them, from time to time, and their Beef before-hand barrelled, the which may be used, but as it is needed: For I make no doubt but fresh Victuals, they will sometimes purvey for themselves, amongst their Enemies. Hereunto likewise would I have them have a store of Hose and Shoes, with such other Necessaries as may be needful for Soldiers, so as they should have no occasion to look for Relief from abroad, or occasion of such Trouble for their continual Supply, as I see, and have often proved in *Ireland* to be more cumbrous to the Deputy, and dangerous to them that relieve them, than half the leading of an Army; for the Enemy knowing the ordinary ways through the which their Relief must be brought them, useth commonly

draw himself into the straight Passages thitherward, and oftentimes doth dangerously distress them: Besides the Pay of such Force as should be sent for their Convoy, the Charge of the Carriages, the Exactions of the Country, shall be spared. But only every half Year the Supply brought by the Deputy himself, and his Power, who shall then visit and overlook all those Garisons, to see what is needful to change, what is expedient, and to direct what he shall best advise. And those four Garisons issuing forth, at such convenient times as they shall have Intelligence or Espial upon the Enemy, will so drive him from one side to another, and tennis him amongst them, that he shall find no where safe to keep his Creet in, nor hide himself; but flying from the Fire, shall fall into the Water, and out of one Danger into another: that in short space his Creet which is his chief Sustenance, shall be wasted with preying, or killed with driving, or starved for want of Pasture in the Woods; and he himself brought so low, that he shall have no Heart or Ability to indure his Wretchedness, the which will surely come to pass in very short time; for one Winter well followed upon him will so pluck him on his Knees, that he will never be able to stand up again.

Eudox. Do you then think the Winter time fittest for the Services of *Ireland*? How falls it then that our most Employments be in Summer, and the Armies then lead commonly forth?

Iren.

Iren. It is surely misconceived ; for it is not with *Ireland*, as it is with other Countreys ; where the Wars flame most in Summer, and the Helmets glister brightest in the fairest Sunshine : but in *Ireland*, the Winter yieldeth best Services ; for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to cloath and house the Kern ; the Ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his Bedding ; the Air is sharp and bitter, to blow through his naked Sides and Legs ; the Kyne are barren and without Milk, which useth to be his only Food ; neither if he kill them, will they yield him Flesh, nor if he keep them will they give him Food : besides, being all with Calf (for the most part) they will through much chasing and driving, cast all their Calves, and lose their Milk, which should relieve him the next Summer.

Eudox. I do well understand your Reason : but by your leave, I have heard it otherwise said, of some that were Out-laws ; that in Summer they kept themselves quiet, but in Winter they would play their parts, and when the Nights were longest, then burn and spoil most, so that they might safely return before day.

Iren. I have likewise heard, and also seen proof thereof true : but that was of such Out-laws as were either abiding in well inhabited

Countries, as in *Mounster*, or bordering on the *English Pale*, as *Feagh Mac-Hugh*, the *Cavanaghes*, the *Moors*, the *Dempsies*, or such like: for, for them the Winter indeed is the fittest time for spoiling and robbing, because the Nights are then (as you said) longest and darkest, and also the Countries round about are then most full of Corn, and good Provisions to be gotten every where by them: but it is far otherwise with a strong peopled Enemy, that possesses a whole Countrey; for the other being but a few, and indeed privily lodged, and kept in Out-Villages and corners nigh to the Woods and Mountains, by some of their privy Friends, to whom they bring their Spoils and Stealths, and of whom they continually receive secret Relief: but the open Enemy having all his Country wasted, what by himself, and what by the Soldiers, findeth them Succour in no place: Towns there are none, of which he may get Spoil, they are all burnt; Bread he hath none, he ploweth not in Summer; Flesh he hath, but if he kill it in Winter, he shall want Milk in Summer, and shortly want Life. Therefore if they be well followed but one Winter, you shall have little work with them next Summer.

Eudox. I do well now perceive the Difference, and do verily think, that the Winter-time is their fittest for Service; withal I conceive the manner of your handling of the Service, by drawing suddain
Draughts

Draughts upon the Enemy, when he looketh not for you, and to watch Advantages upon him as he doth upon you. By which straight keeping of them in, and not suffering them at any time long to rest, I must needs think that they will soon be brought low, and driven to great Extremities. All which when you have performed, and brought them to the very last Cast, suppose that they will offer, either to come to you and submit themselves, or that some of them will seek to withdraw themselves; what is your Advice to do? Will you have them received?

Iren. No; but at the beginning of those Wars, and when the Garisons are well planted and fortified, I would wish a Proclamation were made generally, to come to their Knowledge; That what Persons soever would within twenty Days absolutely submit themselves, (excepting only the very Principals and Ring-leaders) should find Grace: I doubt not, but upon the settling of these Garisons, such a terror and near Consideration of their perillous State, would be stricken into most of them, that they will covet to draw away from their Leaders: And again, I well know that the Rebels themselves (as I saw by Proof in *Desmond's Wars*) will turn away all their Rascal People, whom they think unserviceable; as old Men, Women, Children, and Hinds (which they call Churls) which would only waste their Victuals, and yield them no Aid; but their Cat-
tle

tle they will surely keep away. These therefore, though Policy would turn them back again, that they might the rather consume and afflict the other Rebels; yet in a pitiful Commiseration I would wish them to be received: the rather, for that this Sort of base People doth not for the most part rebel of themselves, having no Heart thereunto, but are by force drawn by the grand Rebels into their Action, and carried away with the Violence of the Stream, else they should be sure to lose all that they have, and perhaps their Lives too: the which they now carry unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the strong Rebels themselves soon turned out of all, so that the Constraint hereof, may in them deserve Pardon. Likewise if any of their able Men or Gentlemen, shall then offer to come away, and to bring their Cattle with them, as some no doubt may steal them away privily; I wish them also to be received, for the disabling of the Enemy, but withal, that good Assurance may be taken for their true Behaviour and absolute Submission; and that then they be not suffered to remain any longer in those Parts, no nor about the Garisons, but sent away, into the inner Parts of the Realm, and dispersed in such sort as they may not come together, nor easily return if they would: for if they might be suffered to remain about the Garisons, and there inhabit, as they will offer to till the Ground, and yield a great Part of the Profit thereof, and of their Cattle,
to

to the *Colonel*, wherewith they have heretofore tempted many; they would (as I have by Experience known) be ever after such a Gall and Inconvenience to them, as that there Profit shall not recompence their Hurt: for they will privily relieve their Friends that are forth, they will send the Enemy secret Advertisements of all their Purposes and Journeys, which they mean to make upon them, they will not also stick to draw the Enemy privily upon them; yea and to betray the Fort itself, by discovery of all her Defects and Disadvantages (if any be) to the cutting of all their Throats. For avoiding whereof and many other Inconveniences, I wish that they should be carried far from thence, into some other Parts, so that (as I say) they come in and submit themselves upon the first Summons: But afterwards I would have none received, but left to their Fortune and miserab'le End; my Reason is, for that those which will afterwards remain without, are stout and obstinate Rebels, such as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to Labour or civil Conversation; having once tasted that licentious Life, and being acquainted with Spoil and Outrages, will ever after be ready for the like Occasions, so as there is no hope of their Amendment or Recovery, and therefore needful to be cut off.

Eudox. Surely of such desperate Persons, as will follow the Course of their own Folly, there is no
Compassion

Compassion to be had; and for others you have proposed a merciful means, much more than they have deserved: but what then shall be the Conclusion of this War, for you have prefixed a short time of its continuance?

Iren. The end will (I assure me) be very short and much sooner than can be in so great a Trouble as it seemeth, hoped for: although there should none of them fall by the Sword, nor be slain by the Soldier, yet thus being kept from Manurance, and their Cattle from running abroad, by this hard Restraint, they would quickly consume themselves, and devour one another. The Proof whereof I saw sufficiently exemplified in these late Wars of *Mounster*; for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful Country, full of Corn and Cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet ere one Year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony Heart would have rued the same. Out of every Corner of the Woods and Glynnnes they came creeping forth upon their Hands, for their Legs could not bear them; they looked like Anatomies of Death, they spake like Ghosts crying out of their Graves, they did eat the dead Carrions, happy were they could find them, yea and one another soon after, inasmuch as the very Carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their Graves; and if they found a Plot of Water-creffes or Shamrocks, there they flocked as to
a Feast

a Feast for the time, yet not able long to continue there withal; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful Countrey suddenly left void of Man and Beast; yet sure in all that War, there perished not many by the Sword, but all by the Extremity of Famine, which they themselves had wrought.

Eudox. It is a wonder that you tell, and more to be wondered how it should so shortly come to pass.

Iren. It is most true, and the Reason also very ready, for you must conceive that the Strength of all that Nation is the *Kern*, *Galloglasse*, *Stocah*, *Horseman* and *Horseboy*; the which having been never used to have any thing of their own, and now being upon Spoil of others, make no spare of any thing, but Havock and Confusion of all they meet with, whether it be their own Friends Goods, or their Foes. And if they happen to get never so great Spoil at any time, the same they waste and consume in a trice, as naturally delighting in Spoil, though it do themselves no good. On the other side, whatsoever they leave unspent, the Soldier when he cometh there, spoileth and havocketh likewise; so that between both, nothing is very shortly left. And yet this is very necessary to be done for the soon finishing of the War; and not only this in this wise, but also those Subjects which do border upon those Parts are either to be remov-

ed and drawn away, or likewise to be spoiled, that the Enemy may find no Succour thereby : for what the Soldier spares, the Rebel will surely spoil.

Eudox. I do now well understand you. But now when all things are brought to this pass, and all filled with these rueful Spectacles of so many wretched Carcasses starving, goodly Countreys wasted, so huge Desolation and Confusion, that even I that do but hear it from you, and do picture it in my Mind, do greatly pty and commiserate it if it shall happen, that the State of this Misery and lamentable Image of things shall be told, and feelingly presented to her sacred Majesty, being by Nature full of Mercy and Clemency, who is most inclinable to such pitiful Complaints, and will not endure to hear such Tragedies made of her poor People and Subjects, as some about her may insinuate : then she perhaps, for very Compassion of such Calamities, will not only stop the stream of such Violences, and return to her wonted mildness, but also conn them little Thanks, which have been the Authors and Councillors of such bloody Platforms. So I remember that in the late Government of that good Lord Grey, when after long Travail, and many perillous Assays, he had brought things almost to this pass that you speak of, that it was even made ready for Reformation, and might have been brought to what her Majesty would ; like Complaint was made against him, that he was a bloody Man, and regarded not the Life of her Subjects no more than dogs, but had
wasted

wasted and consumed all, so as now she had nothing almost left but to reign in their Ashes. Ear was soon lent thereunto, and all turned topside turvy, the noble Lord estsoones was blamed, the wretched People pitied, and new Counsels plotted in which it was concluded, that a general Pardon should be sent over to all that would accept of it. Upon which all former Purposes were blanked, the Governour at a bay, and not only all that great and long Charge which she had before been at, quite lost and cancelled, but also all that hope of Good which was even at the Door, put back, and clean frustrated, all which whether it be true or no, yourself can well tell.

Iren. Too true, *Eudoxus*, the more the pity, for I may not forget so memorable a thing: neither can I be ignorant of that perillous Devise, and of the whole means by which it was compassed, and very cunningly contrived, by sowing first Dissention between him and another noble Personage, wherein they both at length found how notably they had been abused, and how thereby underhand this universal alteration of things was brought about, but then too late to stay the same: for in the mean time all that was formerly done, with long Labour and great Toil, was (as you say) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the Name of a bloody Man, whom, who that well knew, knew to be most gentle, affable, loving, and temperate; but that the Necessity of that present State of things enforced him to that Violence,

ence, and almost changed his natural Disposition. But otherwise he was so far from delighting in Blood, that oftentimes he suffered not just Vengeance to fall where it was deserved: and even some of them which were afterwards his Accusers, had tasted too much of his Mercy, and were from the Gallows brought to be his Accusers. But his Course indeed was this, that he spared not the Heads and Principals of any mischievous Practices or Rebellion, but shewed sharp Judgment on them, chiefly for Ensamble sake, that all the meaner sort, which also were generally then infected with that Evil, might, by Terrour thereof, be reclaimed, and saved, if it were possible. For in the last Conspiracy of some of the *English Pale*, think you not that there were many more guilty than they that felt the Punishment? yet he touched only a few of special note: and in the Trial of them also, even to prevent the Blame of Cruelty, and partial Proceeding, and seeking their Blood, which he, as in his great Wisdom (as it seemeth) did foresee would be objected against him: he for the avoiding thereof did use a singular Discretion and Regard: for the Jury that went upon their Trial, he made to be chosen out of their nearest Kinsmen, and their Judges he made of some of their own Fathers; of others their Uncles and dearest Friends; who when they could not but justly condemn them, yet he uttered their Judgment in abundance of Tears: and yet he even herein was called bloody and cruel.

Eudox. Indeed so have I heard it here often spoken, but I perceive (as I always verily thought) that it was most unjustly; for he was always known to be a most just, sincere, godly, and right noble Man, far from such Sternness, far from such Unrighteousness. But in that sharp Execution of the *Spaniards* at the Fort of *Smerwick*, I heard it specially noted, and if it were true as some reported, surely it was a great touch to him in Honour, for some say that he promised them Life; others at least he did put them in hope thereof.

Iren. Both the one and the other is most untrue: for this I can assure you, myself being as near them as any, that he was so far either from promising, or putting them in Hope, that when first their Secretary (called, as I remember, *Signior Jeffrey*) an *Italian*, being sent to treat with the Lord Deputy for Grace, was flatly refused; and afterwards their Colonel, named *Don Sebastian*, came forth to intreat that they might part with their Arms like Soldiers, at least with their Lives according to the Custom of War and Law of Nations; it was strongly denied him, and told him by the Lord Deputy himself, that they could not justly plead either Custom of War, or Law of Nations; for that they were not any lawful Enemies: and if they were, he willed them to shew by what Commission they came thither into another Prince's Dominions to war, whether from the Pope, or the King of *Spain*, or any other.

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The which when they said they had not, but were only Adventurers, that came to seek Fortune abroad, and to serve in Wars amongst the *Irish*, who desired to entertain them; it was then told them that the *Irish* themselves, as the Earl and *John of Desmond*, with the rest, were no lawful Enemies, but Rebels and Traitors; and therefore they that came to succour them, no better than Rogues and Runnagates, specially coming with no Licence nor Commission from their own King: so as it should be dishonourable for him, in the name of his Queen to condition, or make any Terms with such Rascals; but left them to their Choice, to yield and submit themselves, or no. Wherupon the said Colonel did absolutely yield himself and the Fort, with all therein and craved only Mercy: which it being not thought good to shew them, for danger of them, if, being saved, they should afterward join with the *Irish*; and also for Terrour to the *Irish*, who are much emboldned by those forreign Succours, and also put in Hope of more ere long; there was no other Way but to make that short end of them as was made. Therefore most untruly and maliciously do these evil Tongues backbite and slander the sacred Ashes of that most just and honourable Personage, whose least Virtue, of many most excellent that abounded in his heroic Spirit, they were never able to aspire unto.

Eudox. Truly, *Ireneus*, I am right glad to be thus satisfied by you, in that I have often heard
it

it questioned, and yet was never able till now to choke the Mouth of such Detractors, with the certain Knowledge of their slanderous Untruths. Neither is the Knowledge hereof impertinent to that which we formerly had in hand : I mean, for the thorough prosecuting of that sharp Course which you have set down, for the bringing under of those Rebels of *Ulster* and *Connaught*, and preparing a Way for their perpetual Reformation ; lest haply by any such sinister Suggestions of Cruelty and too much Blood-shed, all the Plot might be overthrown, and all the Cost and Labour therein employed, be utterly lost and cast away.

Iren. You say most true ; for after that Lord's calling away from thence, the two Lords Justices continued but a while : of which, the one was of mind (as it seemed) to have continued in the footing of his Predecessors, but that he was curbed and restrained. But the other was more mildly disposed, as was meet for his Profession, and willing to have all the Wounds of that Commonwealth healed and re-cured, but not with that heed as they should be. After, when Sir *John Perrot* succeeding (as it were) into another Man's Harvest, found an open Way to what Course he list, the which he bent not to that Point which the former Governours intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in Scorn of the former, and in vain vaunt of his own Counsels, with the which he was too wilfully carried for he did tread down and disgrace all the *English* ; and set up and countenance

tenance the *Irish* all that he could; whether thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his Government, (wherein he thought much amiss) or privily plotting some other Purposes of his own, as it partly afterwards appeared. But surely his Manner of Government could not be sound or wholesome for that Realm, it being so contrary to the former; for it was even as two Physicians should take one sick Body in hand, at two sundry times; of which, the former would minister all Things meet to purge and keep under the Body, the other to pamper and strengthen it suddenly again; whereof what is to be looked for but a most dangerous Relapse? That which we now see through his Rule, and the next after him, hapned thereunto, being now more dangerously sick than ever before. Therefore by all means it must be foreseen and assured, that after once entering into this Course of Reformation, there be afterwards, no Remorse nor drawing back for the Sight of any such rueful Objects as must thereupon follow, nor for Compassion of their Calamities; seeing that by no other means it is possible to cure them, and that these are not of Will, but of very urgent Necessity.

Eudox. Thus far then you have now proceeded to plant your Garisons, and to direct their Services; of the which nevertheless I must needs conceive, that there cannot be any certain Direction set down, so that they must follow the Occasions which shall be daily offered, and diligently awaited.

ed. But by your Leave, *Ireneus*, notwithstanding all this your careful Foresight and Provision, methinks I see an Evil lurk unesp'y'd, and that may chance to hazard all the Hope of this great Service, if it be not very well looked into; and that is, the Corruption of their Captains: for though they be placed never so carefully, and their Companies filled never so sufficiently, yet may they, if they list, discard whom they please, and send away such as will perhaps willingly be rid of that dangerous and hard Service; the which (well I wote) is their common Custom to do, when they are laid in Garison; for then they may better hide their Defaults, than when they are in Camp, where they are continually eyed and noted of all Men. Besides, when their Pay cometh, they will (as they say) detain the greatest Portions thereof at their Pleasure, by an hundred Shifts that need not here be named, through which they oftentimes deceive the Soldier, and abuse the Queen, and greatly hinder the Service. So that let the Queen pay never so fully, let the Muster-master view them never so diligently, let the Deputy or General look to them never so exactly; yet they can cozen them all. Therefore (methinks) it were good, if it be possible, to make Provision for this Inconvenience.

Iren. It will surely be very hard; but the chiefest help, for Prevention hereof, must be the Care of the *Colonel* that hath the Government of all his Garison, to have an Eye to their Alterations, to
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know the Numbers and Names of the sick Soldiers and the slain, to mark and observe their Ranks in their daily rising forth to Service, by which he cannot easily be abused ; so that he himself be a Man of special Assurance and Integrity. And therefore great Regard is to be had in the choosing and appointing of them. Besides, I would not by any means, that the Captains should have the paying of their Soldiers, but that there should be a Paymaster appointed, of special Trust, which should pay every Man according to his Captain's Ticket, and the Accompt of the Clerk of his Band ; for by this means the Captain will never seek to falsify his Alterations, nor to diminish his Company, nor to deceive his Soldiers, when nothing thereof shall be sure to come unto himself, but what is his own bare Pay. And this is the Manner of the *Spaniards* Captain, who never hath to meddle with his Soldier's Pay, and indeed scorneth the Name as base, to be counted his Soldiers *Pagadore* : Whereas the contrary amongst us hath brought Things to so bad a pass, that there is no Captain but thinks his Band very sufficient, if he can muster 60, and sticks not to say openly, that he is unworthy to have a Captainship, that cannot make it worth 500*l.* by the Year, the which they right well verify by the Proof.

Eudox. Truly I think this is a very good means to avoid that Inconvenience of Captains Abuses. But what say you to the *Colonel*? What Authority

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ty think you meet to be given him? Whether will you allow him to protect, or safe-conduct, and to have martial Laws as they are accustomed?

Iren. Yea verily, but all these to be limited with very strait Instructions. As first, for Protections; that they shall have Authority, after the first Proclamation, for the Space of twenty Days, to protect all that shall come in, and them to send to the Lord Deputy, with their Safe-conduct or Pass, to be at his Disposition; but so, as none of them return back again, being once come in, but be presently sent away out of the Country, to the next Sheriff, and so convey'd in Safety. And likewise for martial Law, that to the Soldier it be not extended, but by Trial formally of his Crime, by a Jury of his Fellow-Soldiers, as it ought to be, and not rashly, at the Will or Displeasure of the Colonel, as I have sometimes seen too lightly. And as for other of the Rebels that shall light into their Hands, that they be well aware of what Condition they be, and what holding they have. For in the last general Wars there, I knew many good Freeholders executed by martial Law, whose Lands were thereby saved to their Heirs, which should have otherwise escheated to her Majesty. In all which, the great Discretion and Uprightness of the Colonel himself is to be the chief Stay, both for all those Doubts, and for many other Difficulties that may in the Service happen.

Eudox. Your Caution is very good. But now touching the Arch-Rebel himself, I mean the Earl of *Tyrone*, if he, in all the Time of these Wars, should offer to come in, and submit himself to her Majesty, would you not have him received, giving good Hostages, and sufficient Assurance of himself?

Iren. No marry; for there is no doubt but he will offer to come in, as he hath done divers Times already; but it is without any Intent of true Submission, as the Effect hath well shewed; neither indeed can he now, if he would come in at all, nor give that Assurance of himself that should be meet: for being, as he is, very subtil-headed, seeing himself now so far engaged in this bad Action, can you think that by his Submission, he can purchase to himself any Safety, but that hereafter, when Things shall be quieted, these his Villanies will be ever remembred; and whensoever he shall tread awry, (as needs the most righteous must sometimes) Advantage will be taken thereof, as a Breach of his Pardon, and he brought to a Reckoning for all former Matters. Besides, how hard it is now for him to frame himself to Subjection, that having once set before his Eyes the Hope of a Kingdom, hath thereunto not only found Encouragement from the greatest King in Christendom, but also found great Faintness in her Majesty's withstanding him; whereby he is animated to think, that his Power is able to defend him, and offend further than he hath done, whensoever

whensoever he please; let every reasonable Man judge. But if he himself should come, and leave all other his Accomplices without, as *O-Donnel*, *Mac-mahone*, *Maguire*, and the rest; he must needs think, that then, even they will e'er long cut his Throat, which having drawn them all into this occasion, now in the midst of their Trouble giveth them the slip: whereby he must needs perceive, how impossible it is for him to submit himself. But yet if he would do so, can he give any good Assurance of his Obedience? For how weak Hold is there by Hostages, hath too often been proved; and that which is spoken of taking *Shan O-Neal's* Sons from him, and setting them up against him as a very perilous Counsel, and not by any means to be put in proof; for were they let forth, and could overthrow him, who should afterwards overthrow them, or what Assurance can be had of them? It will be like the Tale in *Æsop*, of the wild Horse, who having Enmity with the Stag, came to a Man to desire his Aid against his Foe; who yielding thereunto, mounted upon his Back, and so following the Stag, e'er long slew him: But then when the Horse would have him alight; he refused, but ever after kept him in his Subjection and Service. Such I doubt would be the proof of *Shan O-Neal's* Sons. Therefore it is most dangerous to attempt any such Plot; for even that very manner of Plot was the means, by which this traiterous Earl is now made great. For when the last *O-Neal*,

called *Terlagh Leinagh*, began to stand upon some tickle Terms, this Fellow then, called Baron of *Dunganon*, was set up as it were to beard him, and countenanced and strengthened by the Queen so far, as that he is now able to keep herself play; much like unto a Gamester, that having lost all, borroweth of his next Fellow-Gamester somewhat to maintain play; which he setting unto him again, shortly thereby winneth all from the Winner.

Eudox. Was this Rebel then at first set up by the Queen (as you say) and now become so undutiful?

Iren. He was (I assure you) the most out-cast of all the *O-Neals* then, and lifted up by her Majesty out of the Dust, to that he hath now wrought himself unto: and now he playeth like the frozen Snake, who being for Compassion relieved by the Husbandman, soon after he was warm, began to hiss, and threaten Danger even to him and his.

Eudox. He surely then deserveth the Punishment of that Snake, and should worthily be hewed to pieces. But if you like not the letting forth of *Shan O-Neal's* Sons against him, what say you then of that Advice which (I heard) was given by some, to draw in *Scots* to serve against him? How like you that Advice?

Iren.

Iren. Much worse than the former; for who that is experienced in those Parts knoweth not, that the *O-Neals* are nearly allied unto the *Mac-Neals* of *Scotland*, and to the *Earls of Argile*, from whence they use to have all Succours of those *Scots* and *Redshanks*? Besides, all these *Scots* are, through long continuance, intermingled and ally'd to all the Inhabitants of the North; so as there is no hope that they will ever be wrought to serve faithfully against their old Friends and Kinsmen: And though they would, how, when they have overthrow him, and the Wars are finished, shall they themselves be put out? Do we not all know, that the *Scots* were the first Inhabitants of all the North, and that those which are now called the *North-Irish*, are indeed very *Scots*, which challenge the ancient Inheritance and Dominion of that Countrey, to be their own anciently? This then were but to leap out of the Pan into the Fire: For the chiefest Caveat and Provision in Reformation of the North, must be to keep out those *Scots*.

Eudox. Indeed I remember, that in your Discourse of the first Peopling of *Ireland*, you shewed, that the *Scythians*, or *Scots* were the first that sate down in the North; whereby it seems, that they may challenge some right therein. How comes it then, that the *O-Neals* claim the Dominion thereof, and this Earl of *Tyrone* saith, that the Right is in him? I pray you resolve me

herein ; for it is very needful to be known, and maketh unto the Right of the War against him ; whose Success useth commonly to be according to the Justness of the Cause for which it is made. For if *Tyrone* have any right in that Seigniorie (methinks) it should be wrong to thrust him out : Or if (as I remember you said in the beginning) that *O-Neal* when he acknowledged the King of *England* for his Leige Lord and Sovereigne did (as he alledgeth) reserve in the same Submission his Seigniories and Rights unto himself, what should it be accounted to thrust him out of the same ?

Iren. For the Right of *O-Neal* in the Seigniorie of the North, it is surely none at all : For besides that the Kings of *England* conquered all the Realm, and thereby assumed and invested all the Right of that Land to themselves and their Heirs and Successors for ever, so as nothing was left in *O-Neal* but what he received back from them ; *O-Neal* himself never had any ancient Seigniorie over that Countrey, but what by Usurpation and Incroachment after the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, he got upon the *English*, whose Lands and Possessions being formerly wasted by the *Scots*, under the Leading of *Edward le Bruce*, (as I formerly declared unto you) he estoons entred into, and sithence hath wrongfully detained, through the other Occupations and great Affairs which the Kings of *England*

glad (soon after) fell into here at home; so as they could not intend to the Recovery of that Countrey of the North, nor restrain the Insolency of *O-Neal*, who finding none now to withstand him, reigned in that Desolation, and made himself Lord of those few People that remained there, upon whom ever since he hath continued his first usurped Power, and now exacteth and extorteth upon all Men what he list: so that now to subdue or expel an Usurper, should be no unjust Enterprize or wrongful War, but a Restitution of ancient Right unto the Crown of *England*, from whence they were most unjustly expelled and long kept out.

Eudox. I am very glad herein to be thus satisfied by you, that I may the better satisfy them whom I have often heard to object these Doubts, and slanderously to bark at the Courses which are held against that traiterous Earl and his Adherents. But now that you have thus settled your Service for *Ulster* and *Connaught*, I would be glad to hear your Opinion for the prosecuting of *Feagh Mac Hugh*; who being but a base Villain, and of himself of no power, yet so continually troubleth the State, notwithstanding that he lieth under their Nose, that I disdain his bold Arrogancy, and think it to be the greatest Indignity to the Queen that may be, to suffer such a Caitiff to play such *Rex*; and by his Example, not only to give Heart and Incouragement to all such bad Rebels, but also to yield them

Succour and Refuge against her Majesty, whensoever they fly unto his Comerick. Whereof I would first wish, before you enter into your Plot of Service against him, that you should lay open by what means, he being so base, first lifted himself up to this dangerous Greatness, and how he maintaineth his part against the Queen and her Power, notwithstanding all that hath been done and attempted against him: And whether also he have any pretence of Right in the Land which he holdeth, or in the Wars that he maketh for the same.

Iren. I will so, at your Pleasure; and will further declare, not only the first Beginning of his private House, but also the Original of the Sept of the *Birns* and *Tools*, so far as I have learned the same from some of themselves, and gathered the rest by reading. The People of the *Birnes* and *Tools* (as before I shewed unto you my Conjecture) descended from the ancient *Britains*, which first inhabited all those Eastern Parts of *Ireland*, as their Names do betoken; for *Brin* in the *British* Language signifieth woody, and *Tool* hilly: which Names it seemeth they took of the Countries which they inhabited, which is all very mountainous and woody. In the which it seemeth that ever since the coming in of the *English* with *Dermot ni-Gall*, they have continued: Whether that their Countrey being so rude and mountainous was of them despised, and thought unworthy the inhabiting, or that they
were

were received to grace by them, and suffered to enjoy their Lands, as unfit for any other ; yet it seemeth that in some Places of the same they have put foot, and fortified with sundry Castles, of which the Ruines only do there now remain : since which time they are grown to that strength, that they are able to lift up Hand against all that State ; and now lately through the Boldness and late good Success of this *Feagh Mac-Hugh*, they are so far imboldned, that they threaten Peril even to *Dublin*, over whose Neck they continually hang. But touching your Demand of this *Feagh's* Right unto that Countrey which he claims, or the Seigniorie therein, it is most vain and arrogant. For this you cannot be ignorant, that it was Part of that which was given in Inheritance by *Dermot Mac-Murrough* King of *Leinster*, unto *Strongbow* with his Daughter, and which *Strongbow* gave over unto the King and his Heirs ; so as the Right is absolutely now in her Majesty, and if it were not, yet could it not be in this *Feagh*, but in *O-Brin*, which is the ancient Lord of all that Countrey : for he and his Ancestors, were but Followers unto *O-Brin*, and his Grand-father *Shane Mac Terlagh* was a Man of meanest Regard amongst them, neither having Wealth nor Power. But his Son *Hugh Mac-Shane*, the Father of this *Feagh*, first began to lift up his Head, and thro the Strength and great Fastness of *Glan-Maioir*, which adjoineth unto his House of *Ballinacor*, drew unto him many Thieves and Out-laws, which fled unto the Succour of that Glynn, as to a Sanctuary, and brought unto him part of the

Spoil of all the Country; thro which he grew strong, and in short Space got unto himself a great Name thereby amongst the *Irish*; in whose footing this his Son continuing hath thro many unhappy Occasions increased his said Name, and the Opinion of his Greatness, insomuch that now he is become a dangerous Enemy to deal withal.

Eudox. Surely I can commend him, that being of himself of so mean Condition, hath through his own Hardiness lifted himself up to that Height, that he dare now front Princes, and make Terms with great Potentates; the which as it is to him honourable, so it is to them most disgraceful, to be bearded of such a base Varlet, that being but of late grown out of the Dunghil, beginneth now to overcrow so high Mountains, and make himself the great Protector of all Out-laws and Rebels that will repair unto him. But do you think he is now so dangerous an Enemy as he is counted, or that it is so hard to take him down as some suppose?

Iren. No verily, there is no great Reckoning to be made of him, ; for had he ever been taken in Hand, when the rest of the Realm (or at least the Parts adjoining) had been quiet, as the honourable Gentleman that now governeth there (I mean Sir *William Russell*) gave a notable Attempt thereunto, and had worthily performed it, if his Course had not been crossed unhappily, he could not have stood three Months, nor ever have looked up against a very mean Power; but now all the Parts
about

about him being up in a madding Mood, as the *Moore*s in *Leix*, the *Cavanagh*s in the County of *Wexford*, and some of the *Butler*s in the County of *Kilkenny*, they all flock unto him, and draw into his Countrey, as to a strong Hold where they think to be safe from all that prosecute them : And from thence they do at their Pleasures, break out into all the Borders adjoining, which are well-peopled Countreys, as the Counties of *Dublin*, of *Kildare*, of *Catherlagh*, of *Kilkenny*, of *Wexford*, with the Spoils whereof they victual and strengthen themselves, which otherwise should in short Time be starved, and sore pined ; so that what he is of himself, you may hereby perceive.

Eudox. Then by so much as I gather out of your Speech, the next Way to end the Wars, with him, and to rout him quite, should be to keep him from invading of those Countreys adjoining ; which (as I suppose) is to be done either by drawing all the Inhabitants of those next Borders away, and leaving them utterly waste, or by planting Garisons upon all those Frontiers about him, that when he shall break forth, may set upon him and shorten his Return.

Iren. You conceive very rightly, *Eudoxus* : but for that the dispeopling and driving away all the Inhabitants from the Country about him, which you speak of, should be a great Confusion and Trouble, as well for the Unwillingness of them to leave their Possessions, as also for placing
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and providing for them in other Countreys; me thinks the better Course should be by planting of Garisons about him, which whensoever he shall look forth, or be drawn out with the Desire of the Spoil of those Borders, or for Necessity of Victual, shall be always ready to intercept his going or coming.

Eudox. Where then do you wish those Garisons to be planted, that they may serve best against him, and how many in every Garison?

Iren. I myself by reason that (as I told you) I am no martial Man, will not take upon me to direct so dangerous Affairs; but only as I understood by the Purposes and Plots which the Lord Grey, who was well experienc'd in that Service, against him did lay down: To the Performance whereof he only required 1000 Men to be laid in six Garisons; that is, at *Ballinecor* 200 Footmen and 50 Horsemen, which should shut him out of his great Glynn, whereto he so much trusteth; at *Knocklough* 200 Footmen and 50 Horsemen, to answer the County of *Catherlagh*; at *Arcla* or *Wicklow* 200 Footmen and 50 Horsemen, to defend all that side towards the Sea; in *Shillelagh* 100 Footmen, which should cut him from the *Cavenaghcs*, and the County of *Wexford*; and about the three Castles 50 Horsemen, which should defend all the County of *Dublin*; and 100 Footmen at *Talbots Town*, which should keep

keep him from breaking out into the County of *Kildare*, and be always on his Neck on that side. The which Garrisons so laid, will so busy him, that he shall never rest at home, nor stir forth abroad, but he shall be had. As for his Creet, they cannot be above ground, but they must needs fall into their hands or starve, for he hath no Fastness nor Refuge for them. And as for his Partakers of the *Moors*, *Butlers*, and *Cavenaghes*, they will soon leave him, when they see his Fastness and strong Places thus taken from him.

Eudox. Surely this seemeth a Plot of great Reason, and small Difficulty, which promiseth Hope of a short end: But what special Directions will you set down for the Services and Risings out of these Garrisons?

Iren. None other than the present Occasions shall minister unto them; and as by good Espials, whereof there they cannot want store, they shall be drawn continually upon him, so as one of them shall be still upon him, and sometimes all at one instant baiting him. And this (I assure myself) will demand no long time, but will be all finished in the space of one Year, which how small a thing it is unto the eternal Quietness which shall thereby be purchased to that Realm, and the great Good which should
grow

grow to her Majesty, should methinks readily draw on her Highness to the undertaking of the Enterprife.

Eudox. You have very well (methinks) *Ireneus*, plotted a Course for the atchieving of those Wars now in *Ireland*, which seem to ask no long Time, nor great Charge, so as the effecting thereof be committed to Men of sure Trust and sound Experience, as well in that Countrey, as in the manner of those Services; for if it be left in the hands of such raw Captains as are usually sent out of *England*, being thereunto only preferred by Friendship, and not chosen by Sufficiency, it will soon fall to the ground.

Iren. Therefore it were meet (methinks) that such Captains only were thereunto employed, as have formerly served in that Countrey, and been at least Lieutenants unto other Captains there. For otherwise being brought and transferred from other Services abroad, as in *France*, in *Spain*, and in the *Low-Countries*, though they be of good Experience in those, and have never so well deserved; yet in these they will be new to seek, and before they have gathered Experience, they shall buy it with great Loss to her Majesty, either by hazarding of their Companies, through Ignorance of the Places, and manner of the *Irish* devices, or by losing a great part of the time which is required hereunto, being but short, in
which

which it might be finished, almost before they have taken out a new Lesson, or can tell what is to be done.

Eudox. You are no good Friend to new Captains ; it seems, *Ireneus*, that you bar them from the credit of this Service : but, to say truth, methinks it were meet, that any one before he came to be a Captain, should have been a Soldier ; for, *Parere qui Nescit, nescit imperare*. And besides, there is a great wrong done to the old Soldier, from whom all means of Advancement, which is due unto him, is cut off, by shuffling in these new cutting Captains into the place for which he hath long served, and perhaps better deserved. But now that you have thus (as I suppose) finished all the War, and brought all things to that low Ebb which you speak of, what Course will you take for the bringing in of that Reformation which you intend, and recovering all things from this desolate Estate ? in which, methinks, I behold them now left, unto that perfect establishment and new Commonwealth which you have conceived of, by which so great Good may redound unto her Majesty, and an assured Peace be confirmed ; for that is it whereunto we are now to look, and do greatly long for, being long sithence made weary with the huge Charge which you have laid upon us, and with the strong Indurance of so many Complaints, so many Delays, so many Doubts and Dangers, as will hereof, I know well, arise : unto the which,

before

before we come, it were meet, methinks, that you should take some Order for the Soldier, which is now first to be discharged and disposed of some way; the which if you do not well foresee, may grow to as great Inconvenience, as all this that I suppose you have quit us from, by the loose leaving off so many thousand Soldiers, which from thenceforth will be unfit for any Labour or other Trade, but must either seek Service and Employment abroad, which may be dangerous, or else employ themselves here at home, as may be discommodious.

Iren. You say very true, and it is a thing much disliked in this our Commonwealth, that no better Course is taken for such as have been employed in Service, but that returning, whether maimed, and so unable to labour, or otherwise whole and sound, yet afterwards unwilling to work, or rather willing to set the Hangman on work. But that needeth another Consideration; but to this which we have now in hand, it is far from my meaning to leave the Soldier so at random, or to leave that waste Realm so weak and destitute of Strength; which may both defend it against others that might seek then to set upon it, and also keep it from that Relapse which I before did forecast. For it is one special good of this Plot, which I would devise, that 6000 Soldiers of these whom I have now employed in this Service, and made throughly acquainted,

both

both with the State of the Countrey and Manners of the People, should henceforth be still continued, and for ever maintained of the Countrey, without any Charge to her Majesty; and the rest, that are either old, and unable to serve any longer, or willing to fall to thrift, as I have seen many Soldiers, after the Service, to prove very good Husbands, should be placed in part of the Lands, by them won, at such rate, or rather better than others, to whom the same shall be set out.

Eudox. Is it possible, *Ireneus*? Can there be any such means devised, that so many Men should be kept still in her Majesty's Service, without any Charge to her at all? Surely this were an exceeding great Good, both to her Highness, to have so many old Soldiers always ready at call, to what purpose soever she list to employ them; and also to have that Land thereby so strengthened, that it shall neither fear any foreign Invasion, nor Practice which the *Irish* shall ever attempt, but shall keep them under in continual Awe, and firm Obedience.

Iren. It is so indeed: And yet this truly I do not take to be any matter of great difficulty, as I think it will also soon appear unto you. And first, we will speak of the North Part, for that the same is of more Weight and Importance. So soon as it shall appear that the Enemy is brought down, and the stout Rebel either cut off, or driven

driven to that Wretchedness, that he is no longer able to hold up his Head, but will come into any Conditions, which I assure myself will be before the end of the second Winter ; I wish that there be a general Proclamation made, that whatsoever Out-laws will freely come in, and submit themselves to her Majesty's Mercy, shall have liberty so to do, where they shall either find that Grace they desire, or have leave to return again in Safety : upon which it is likely, that so many as survive, will come in to sue for Grace ; of which, whoſo are thought meet for Subjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be received, or else all of them (for I think that all will be but a very few) upon Condition and Assurance, that they will submit themselves absolutely to her Majesty's Ordinance for them, by which they shall be assured of Life and Liberty, and be only tied to such Conditions as shall be thought by her meet for containing them ever after in due Obedience. To the which Conditions I nothing doubt, but they will all most readily, and upon their Knees, submit themselves, by the Proof of that which I have seen in *Mounſter*. For upon the like Proclamation there, they all came in both tag and rag ; and whenas afterwards many of them were denied to be received, they bade them do with them what they would, for they would not by any means return again, nor go forth. For in that Case, who will not accept almost of any
Conditions,

Conditions, rather than die of Hunger and Misery ?

Eudox. It is very likely so. But what then is the Ordinance, and what be the Conditions which you will propose unto them, which shall reserve unto them an Assurance of Life and Liberty ?

Iren. So soon then as they have given the best Assurance of themselves which may be required, which must be (I suppose) some of their principal Men, to remain in Hostage one for another, and some other for the rest ; for other Surety I reckon of none that may bind them, neither of Wife, nor of Children, since then perhaps they would gladly be rid of both from the Famine ; I would have them first unarmed utterly and stripped quite of all their warlike Weapons, and then these Conditions set down and made known unto them, that they shall be placed in *Leinster*, and have Land given them to occupy and to live upon, in such sort as shall become good Subjects, to labour thenceforth for their Living, and to apply themselves to honest Trades of Civility, as they shall every one be found meet and able for.

Eudox. Where then a God's name will you place them in *Leinster* ? or will you find out any new Land there for them that is yet unknown ?

Iren.

Iren. No, I will place them all in the Countrey of the *Birnes* and *Tooles*, which *Pheagh Mac-Hugh* hath; and in all the Lands of the *Cavanaghes*, which are now in Rebellion; and all the Lands which will fall to her Majesty thereabouts, which I know to be very spacious, and large enough to contain them, being very near twenty or thirty Miles wide.

Eudox. But then what will you do with all the *Birnes*, the *Tooles*, and the *Cavanaghes*, and all those that now are joined with them.

Iren. At the same very time, and in the same very manner that I make that Proclamation to them of *Ulster*, will I also have it made to these; and upon their Submission thereunto, I will take like Assurance of them as of the other. After which, I will translate all that remain of them unto the Places of the other in *Ulster*, with all their Creet, and what else they have left them; the which I will cause to be divided amongst them in some meet sort, as each may thereby have somewhat to sustain himself awhile withal, until by his further Travel and Labour of the Earth, he shall be able to provide himself better.

Eudox. But will you give the Land then freely unto them, and make them Heirs of the former

mer Rebels? so may you perhaps make them also Heirs of all their former Villanies and Disorders; or how else will you dispose of them?

Iren. Not so: but all the Lands will I give unto *Englishmen*, whom I will have drawn thither, who shall have the same, with such Estates as shall be thought meet, and for such Rent as shall estfoons be rated. Under every of those *Englishmen* will I place some of those *Irish* to be Tenants, for a certain Rent, according to the Quantity of such Land as every Man shall have allotted unto him, and shall be found able to wield; wherein this special regard shall be had, that in no place under any Landlord, there shall be many of them placed together, but dispersed wide from their Acquaintance, and scattered far abroad through all the Countrey. For that is the Evil which now I find in all *Ireland*, that the *Irish* dwell altogether by their Septs, and several Nations, so as they may practise or conspire what they will: whereas if there were *English* well placed among them, they should not be able once to stir or to murmur, but that it should be known, and they shortned according to their Demerits.

Eudox. You have good reason: but what rating of Rents mean you? to what end do you purpose the same?

Iren.

Iren. My Purpose is, to rate the Rent of all those Lands of her Majesty, in such sort unto those *Englishmen* which shall take them, as they shall be well able to live thereupon, to yield her Majesty reasonable Chiefrie, and also give a competent Maintenance unto the Garrisons which shall be there left amongst them: For those Soldiers (as I told you) remaining of the former Garrisons, I cast to maintain upon the Rent of those Lands which shall be escheated, and to have them divided through all *Ireland*, in such places as shall be thought most convenient, and occasion may require. And this was the Course which the *Romans* observed in the Conquest of *England*; for they planted some of their Legions in all places convenient, the which they caused the Country to maintain, cutting upon every Portion of Land a reasonable Rent, which they called *Romescot*, the which might not surcharge the Tenant or Freeholder, and might defray the Pay of the Garison: and this hath been always observed by all Princes, in all Countreys to them newly subdued, to set Garrisons amongst them, to contain them in Duty, whose Burden they made them to bear. And the want of this Ordinance in the first Conquest of *Ireland* by *Henry* the Second, was the Cause of the so short Decay of that Government, and the quick Recovery again of the *Irish*. Therefore by all means it is to be provided for. And this is that I would blame, if it should not misbecome

become me, in the late planting of *Mounster*, that no care was had of this Ordinance, nor any strength of Garison provided for, by a certain Allowance out of all the said Lands; but only the present Profit looked into, and the safe Continuance thereof for ever hereafter neglected.

Eudox. But there is a Band of Soldiers laid in *Mounster*, to the Maintenance of which, what odds is there whether the Queen, receiving the Rent of the Countrey, do give pay at her pleasure, or that there be a settled Allowance appointed unto them out of her Lands there?

Iren. There is great odds: for now that said Rent of the Countrey is not appointed to the Pay of the Soldiers, but it is, by every other occasion coming between, converted to other Uses, and the Soldiers, in time of Peace, discharged and neglected as unnecessary: Whereas if the said Rent were appointed and ordained by an Establishment to this end only, it should not be turned to any other; nor in troublous Times, upon every occasion, her Majesty be so troubled with sending over new Soldiers as she is now; nor the Countrey ever should dare to mutiny, having still the Soldier in their Neck: nor any foreign Enemy dare to invade, knowing there so strong and great Garison, always ready to receive them.

Eudox.

Eudox. Sith then you think that this *Rome-fet* of the Pay of the Soldiers, upon the Land, to be both the readiest way to the Soldiers, and least troublefom to her Majesty; tell us (I pray you) how would you have the said Lands rated, that both a Rent may rise thereout unto the Queen, and also the Soldiers receive Pay? which, methinks, will be hard.

Iren. First, we are to consider, how much Land there is in all *Ulster*, that according to the Quantity thereof we may ccess the said Rent and Allowance issuing thereout. *Ulster* (as the ancient Records of that Realm do testify) doth contain 9000 Plow-Lands, every of which Plow-Lands containeth 120 Acres, after the rate of 21 Foot to every Perch of the Acre: every of which Plow-Lands I will rate at 40s. by the Year; the which yearly Rent amounteth in the whole to 18000*l.* besides 6s. 8*d.* Chiefly out of every Plow-Land. But because the County of *Lowth*, being a part of *Ulster*, and containing in it 712 Plow-Lands, is not wholly to escheat to her Majesty, as the rest, they having in all their Wars continued, for the most part, dutiful, though otherwise a great part thereof is now under the Rebels; there is an Abatement to be made thereout of 400 or 500 Plow-Lands, as I estimate the same, the which are not to pay the whole yearly Rent of 40s. out of every Plow-Land, like as the escheated Lands do,
but

but yet shall pay for their Composition of Cefs towards the keeping of Soldiers, 20*s.* out of every Plow-Land: fo as there is to be deducted out of the former Sum 200 or 300*l.* yearly; the which may nevertheless be fupplied by the Rent of the Fifhings, which are exceeding great in *Ulfter*, and alfo by an Increase of Rent in the beft Lands, and thofe that lie in the beft Places near the Sea-Coaft. The which 18000*l.* will defray the Entertainment of 1500 Soldiers, with fome Over-plus towards the Pay of the Vi^{ct}ual-lers, which are to be employed in the vi^{ct}ualling of thefe Garifons.

Eudox. So then belike you mean to leave 1500 Soldiers in Garifons for *Ulfter*, to be paid principally out of the Rent of thofe Lands, which fhall be there efcheated unto her Majefty. The which, where (I pray you) will you have them garifoned?

Iren. I will have them divided into three parts; that is 500 in every Garifon, the which I will have to remain in three of the fame Places where they were before appointed; to wit, 500 at *Strabane* and about *Loughfoile*, fo as they may hold all the Paffages of that part of the Countrey; and fome of them be put in Wards upon all the Straits thereabouts, which I know to be fuch, as may ftop all Paffages into the Countrey on that fide; and fome of them alfo upon the *Ban*, up towards *Lough-Sidney*, as I formerly
I directed.

and Parishes, or Wards, as it is in *England*, and laid out into Shires, as it was anciently, viz. the County of *Dow*n, the County of *Antrim*, the County of *Louth*, the County of *Armagh*, the County of *Cavan*, the County of *Colerane*, the County of *Monaghan*, the County of *Tyrene*, the County of *Fermanagh*, the County of *Donnegall*, being in all ten. Over all which, I wish a Lord President, and a Council to be placed, which may keep them afterwards in Awe and Obedience, and minister unto them Justice and Equity.

Eudox. Thus I see the whole Purpose of your Plot for *Ulster*; and now I desire to hear your like Opinion for *Connaght*.

Iren. By that which I have already said of *Ulster*, you may gather my Opinion for *Connaght*, being very answerable to the former. But for that the Lands which shall therein escheat unto her Majesty, are not so intirely together, as that they can be accompted in one Sum, it needeth that they be considered severally. The Province of *Connaght* in the whole containeth (as appeareth by the Records of *Dublin*) 7200 Plow-lands of the former Measure, and is of late divided into six Shires or Counties; the County of *Care*, the County of *Leytrim*, the County of *Roscoman* the County of *Galway*, the County of *Maio*, and the County of *Sligo*. Of the which, all the County of *Sligo*, all the County of *Maio*, the most part of the County of *Roscoman*, the most part of the County of *Leytrim*, a great part of the County

County of *Galway*, and some of the County of *Clare*, is like to escheat to her Majesty for the Rebellion of their present Possessors. The which two Counties of *Sligo* and *Maio* are supposed to contain almost 3000 Plow-lands, the Rent whereof rateably to the former, I value almost at 6000*l. per Annum*. The County of *Roscoman*, saving that which pertaineth to the House of *Roscoman*, and some few other *English* there lately seated, is all one, and therefore it is wholly likewise to escheat to her Majesty, saving those Portions of *English* Inhabitants; and even those *English* do (as I understand by them) pay as much Rent to her Majesty, as is set upon those in *Ulster*; counting their Composition-Money therewithal, so as it may all run into one reckoning with the former two Counties. So that this County of *Roscoman* containing 1200 Plow-lands, as it is accompted, amounteth to 2400*l.* by the Year, which with the former two Counties Rent, maketh about 8300*l.* for the former wanted somewhat. But what the escheated Lands of the County of *Galway* and *Leytrim* will rise unto, is yet uncertain to define, till survey thereof be made; for that those Lands are intermingled with the Earl of *Clanricarde's*, and others Lands: but it is thought they be the one half of both those Counties, so as they may be counted to the Value of one whole County, which containeth above 1000 Plow-lands, for so many the least County of

them all comprehendeth, which maketh 2000 *l.* more, that is in all ten or eleven thousand Pounds. The other two Counties must remain till their Escheats appear ; the which letting pass yet, as unknown, yet this much is known to be accompted for certain, that the Composition of these two Counties being rated at 20*s.* every Plow-land, will amount to above 2000 Pounds more ; all which being laid together to the former, may be reasonably estimated to rise unto 13000 Pounds : the which Sum, together with the Rent of the escheated Lands in the two last Counties, which cannot yet be valued, being, as I doubt not, no less than a thousand Pounds more ; will yield Pay largely unto 1000 Men and their Victuallers, and 1000 Pounds over towards the Governor.

Eudox. You have (methinks) made but an Estimate of those Lands of *Connaght* even at a very venture, so as it should be hard to build any Certainty of Charge, to be raised upon the same.

Iren. Not altogether upon Uncertainties ; for this much may easily appear unto you to be certain, as the Composition-Money of every Plow-land amounteth unto ; for this I would have you principally to understand, that my purpose is to rate all the Lands in *Ireland* at 20 Shillings every Plow-land, for their Composition towards the
Garison.

Garifon. The which I know, in regard of being freed from all other Charges whatsoever, will be readily and most gladly yielded unto. So that there being in all *Ireland* (as appeareth by their old Records) 43920 Plow-lands, the same shall amount to the Sum likewise of 43920 Pounds; and the rest to be reared of the escheated Lands which fall to her Majesty in the said Provinces of *Ulster*, *Connaght*, and that part of *Leinster* under the Rebels, for *Mounster* we deal not yet withal.

Eudox. But tell me this by the way, do you then lay Composition upon the escheated Lands, as you do upon the rest? for so (methinks) you reckon altogether. And that sure were too much to pay seven Nobles out of every Plow-land, and Composition-Money besides, that is, 20 Shillings out of every Plow-land.

Iren. No, you mistake me, I do put only seven Nobles Rent and Composition both upon every Plow-land escheated; that is, 40 Shillings for Composition, and 6 Shillings and 8 Pence for Chiefry to her Majesty.

Eudox. I do now conceive you: proceed then (I pray you) to the appointing of your Garifons in *Connaght*, and shew us both how many, and where you would have them placed.

Iren. I would have 1000 laid in *Connaght*, in two Garisons; namely, 500 in the County of *Maio*, about *Clan Mac-Costilagh*, which shall keep all *Maio*, and the *Bourkes* of *Mac-William Eighter*: The other 500 in the County of *Galway*, about *Garrandough*, that they may contain the *Connors* and the *Bourkes* there, the *Kellies* and *Murries*, with all them thereabouts; for that Garison which I formerly placed at *Lough-earn* will serve for all Occasions in the County of *Sligo*, being near adjoyning thereunto; so as in one Night's march, they may be almost in any place thereof, when need shall require them. And like as in the former Places of Garisons in *Ulster*, I wished three Corporate Towns to be planted, which under the Safe-guard of that Strength should dwell and trade safely with all the Countrey about them; so would I also wish to be in this of *Connaght*: and that, besides, there were another established at *Athlone*, with a convenient Ward in the Castle there for their Defence.

Eudox. What should that need, seeing the Governour of *Connaght* useth to lie there always, whose Presence will be a Defence to all that Township?

Iren. I know he doth so, but that is much to be disliked, that the Governour should lie so far off in the remotest place of all the Province,
whereas

whereas it were meeter that he should be continually abiding in the midst of the Charge; that he might both look out alike unto all Places of his Government, and also be soon at hand in any Place where occasion shall demand him; for the Presence of the Governour is (as you said) a great Stay and Bridle unto those that are ill disposed: like as I see it is well observed in *Mounster*, where the daily good thereof is continually apparent. And for this cause also, do I greatly mislike the Lord Deputy's seating at *Dublin*, being the outmost Corner of the Realm, and least needing the Awe of his Presence; whereas (methinks) it were fitter, since his proper Care is of *Leinster*, though he have Care of all besides generally, that he should seat himself at *Athie*, or thereabouts, upon the Skirt of that unquiet Countrey; so that he might sit as it were, at the very Main-Mast of his Ship; whence he might easily over-look, and sometimes over-reach the *Moore*s, the *Dempsey*s, the *Connors*, *O-Carroll*, *O-Molloy*, and all that heap of *Irish* Nations which there lie hudled together, without any to over-awe them, or contain them in Duty. For the *Irish-man* (I assure you) fears the Government no longer, than he is within fight or reach.

Eudox. Surely (methinks) herein you observe a matter of much Importance, more than I have heard ever noted; but sure that seems so expedient,

dient, as that I wonder that heretofore it hath been overseen or omitted : but I suppose the Instance of the Citizens of *Dublin* is the greatest left thereof.

Iren. Truly then it ought not so to be, for no cause have they to fear that it will be any hindrance to them ; for *Dublin* will be still as it is, they Key of all Passages and Transportations out of *England* thither, to no less Profit of those Citizens than it now is ; and besides, other Places will hereby receive some Benefit. But let us now (I pray you) come to *Leinster*, in the which I would wish the same Course to be observed that was in *Uister*.

Eudox. You mean for the leaving of the Garisons in their Forts, and for planting of *English* in all those Countreys, between the County of *Dublin* and the County of *Wexford* ; but those waste wild Places, I think when they are won unto her Majesty, that there is none which will be hasty to seek to inhabit.

Iren. Yes, enough, (I warrant you) for though the whole Track of the Countrey be mountainous and woody, yet there are many goodly Valleys amongst them, fit for fair Habitations ; to which those Mountains adjoyned will be a great increase of Pastorage ; for that Countrey is a great Soil of Cattle, and very fit for Breed. As for Corn, it is nothing natural, save only for
Barley

Barley and Oats, and some places for Rye; and therefore the larger Penny-worths may be allowed to them; though otherwise the wideness of the mountain Pasturage do recompense the badness of the Soil; so as I doubt not but it will find Inhabitants and Undertakers enough.

Eudox. How much do you think that all those Lands, which *Feagh Mac-Hugh* holdeth under him, may amount unto, and what Rent may be reared thereout, to the Maintenance of the Garrisons that shall be laid there?

Iren. Truly it is impossible by aim to tell it; and for Experience and Knowledge thereof, I do not think that there was ever any of the Particulars thereof; but yet I will (if it please you) guess thereat, upon ground only of their Judgment, which have formerly divided all that Countrey into two Shires or Counties; namely, the County of *Wicklow*, and the County of *Fernes*. The which two I see no cause but that they should wholly escheat to her Majesty, all save the Baronry *Archo*, which is the Earl of *Ormond's* ancient Inheritance, and hath ever been in his Possession; for all the whole Land is the Queen's, unless there be some Grant of any part thereof, to be shewed from her Majesty; as I think there is only of *New-Castle* to Sir *Henry Harrington*, and of the Castle of *Fernes* to Sir *Thomas Maisterfon*; the rest, being a'most thirty Miles over, I do suppose can contain no less than

than 2000 Plow-lands, which I will estimate at 4000*l.* Rent by the Year. The rest of *Leinster*, being seven Counties, to wit, the County of *Dublin*, *Kildare*, *Catherlogh*, *Wexford*, *Kilkenny*, the *King's* and the *Queen's* County, do contain in them 7400 Plow-lands, which amounteth to so many Pounds for Composition to the Garison; that makes in the whole 11400*l.* which Sum will yield Pay unto 1000 Soldiers, little wanting, which may be supplied out of other Lands of the *Cavenagh's*, which are to be escheated to her Majesty, for the Rebellion of their Possessors; though otherwise indeed they be of her own ancient Demeasns.

Eudox. It is great reason. But tell us now where you will wish those Garisons to be laid, whether all together, or to be dispersed in sundry places of the Countrey?

Eudox. Marry in sundry places, viz. in this fort, or much the like as may be better advised; for 200 in a place I do think to be enough for the Safeguard of that Countrey, and keeping under all sudden Upstarts, that shall seek to trouble the Peace thereof: Therefore I wish 200 to be laid at *Ballinacor*, for the keeping of all bad Persons from *Glan-malor*, and all the Fastnesses thereabouts, and also to contain all that shall be planted in those Lands thenceforth. Another 200 at *Knockelough* in their former place of Garison, to keep the *Bracknagh*, and all those

STATE OF IRELAND. 205

those Mountains of the *Cavenaghcs*. 200 more to lie at *Fernes*, and upwards, inward upon the *Slane*. 200 to be placed at the Fort of *Leix*, to restrain the *Moors*, *Upper-Ossery*, and *O-Carrol*. Other 200 at the Fort of *Ofaly*, to curb the *O-Connors*, *O-Molloys*, *Mac-Coghlan*, *Ma-geoghegan*, and all those *Irish Nations* bordering thereabouts.

Eudox. Thus I see all your Men bestow'd in *Leinster*; what think you then of *Meath*?

Iren. *Meath*, which containeth both *East-Meath* and *West-Meath*, and of late the *Annaly*, now called the County of *Longford*, is counted thereunto: But *Meath* itself, according to the old Records, containeth 4320 Plow-lands and the County of *Longford* 947, which in the whole makes 5267 Plow-lands; of which, the Composition-Mony will amount likewise to 5267*l*. to the Maintenance of the Garison. But because all *Meath*, lying in the Bosom of that Kingdom, is always quiet enough, it is needless to put any Garison there, so as all that Charge may be spared. But in the County of *Longford*, I wish 200 Footmen and 50 Horsemen to be placed in some convenient Seat, between the *Annaly* and the *Breny*, as about *Lough Sillon*, or some like place; of that River, so as they might keep both the *O-Relies*, and also the *O-Ferrals*, and all that Out-skirt of *Meath*, in awe; the which use upon every light Occasi-

on to be stirring, and having continual Enmity amongst themselves, do thereby oftentimes trouble all those Parts: the Charge whereof being 3400 and odd Pounds, is to be cut out of that Composition-Mony for *Meath* and *Longford*; the Overplus being almost 2000*l.* by the Year will come in clearly to her Majesty.

Eudox. It is worth the hearkning unto. But now that you have done with *Meath*, proceed (I pray you) to *Mounster*, that we may see how it will rise there for the Maintenance of the Garison.

Iren. *Mounster* containeth, by Record at *Dublin*, 16000 Plow-lands; the Composition whereof, as the rest, will make 16000*l.* by the Year: out of the which I would have 1000 Soldiers to be maintained for the Defence of that Province, the Charge whereof, with the Victuallers Wages, will amount to 1200*l.* by the Year; the other 4000 *l.* will defray the Charge of the Presidency and the Council of that Province.

Eudox. The Reckoning is easy; but in this account, by your leave, (methinks) you are deceived; for in this Sum of the Composition-Mony, you account the Lands of the Undertakers of that Province, who are, by their Grant from the Queen, to be freed from all such Impositions

positions whatsoever, excepting their only Rent, which is surely enough.

Iren. You say true, I did so; but the same 20s. for every Plow-land, I mean to have deducted out of that Rent due upon them to her Majesty: which is no hindrance nor Charge at all more to her Majesty than it now is; for all that Rent which she receives of them, she putteth forth again to the Maintenance of the Presidency there, the Charge whereof it doth scarcely defray; whereas in this Account, both that Charge of the Presidency, and also of 1000 Soldiers more shall be maintained.

Eudox. It should be well if it could be brought to that. But now, where will you have your 1000 Men garison'd?

Iren. I would have 100 of them placed at the *Bantry*, where is a most fit place, not only to defend all that side of the West part from foreign Invasion, but also to answer all Occasions of Troubles, to which that Countrey being so remote, is very subject. And surely there also would be planted a good Town, having both a good Haven and a plentiful Fishing, and the Land being already escheated to her Majesty, but being forcibly kept from her by one that proclaims himself the Bastard Son of the Earl of *Glancar*, being called *Donnell Mac-Carty*, whom it is meet to foresee to: For whensoever the
Earl

Earl shall die, all those Lands (after him) are to come unto her Majesty, he is like to make a foul Stir there, though of himself no Power, yet through supportance of some others, who lie in the Wind, and look after the Fall of that Inheritance. Another 100 I would have placed at *Castle-Mayne*, which should keep all *Desmond* and *Kerry*, for it answereth them both most conveniently. Also about *Kilmore*, in the County of *Cork*, would I have 200 placed, the which should break that Nest of Thieves there, and answer equally both to the County of *Limerick*, and also the County of *Cork*. Another 100 would I have lie at *Cork*, as well to command the Town, as also to be ready for any foreign Occasion. Likewise at *Waterford* would I place 200 for the same Reasons, and also for other privy Causes that are no less important. Moreover, on this side of *Arlo*, near to *Muskery Quirk*, which is the Countrey of the *Burkes*, about *Kill-Patrick*, I would have 200 more to be garison'd, which should scour both the *White Knights* Countrey, and *Arlo*, and *Muskery Quirk*; by which Places all the Passages of Thieves do lie, which convey their Stealth from all *Mounster* downwards towards *Tipperary*, and the *English Pale*; and from the *English Pale* also up unto *Mounster*, whereof they use to make a common Trade. Besides that, e'er long I doubt that the County of *Tipperary* itself will need such a Strength in it, which were good to be there ready

ready before the Evil fall, that is daily of some expected. And thus you see all your Garisons placed.

Eudox. I see it right well. But let me (I pray you) by the way, ask you the reason, why in those Cities of *Mounster*, namely, *Waterford* and *Cork*, you rather placed Garisons, than in all others in *Ireland*? for they may think themselves to have a great Wrong to be so charged above all the rest.

Iren. I will tell you, those two Cities, above all the rest, do offer an in-gate to the *Spaniard* most fitly: But yet, because they shall not take Exceptions to this, that they are charged above all the rest, I will also lay a Charge upon the others likewise; for indeed it is no reason that the Corporate Towns, enjoying great Franchises and Privileges from her Majesty, and living thereby not only safe, but drawing to them the Wealth of all the Land, should live so free, as not to be partakers of the Burthen of this Garison, for their own Safety, especially in this time of Trouble, and seeing all the rest burthened: and therefore I will charge them all thus ratably, according to their Abilities, towards their Maintenance; the which her Majesty may (if she please) spare out of the Charge of the rest, and reserve towards her other Costs, or else add to the Charge of the Presidency in the North.

Waterford

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|----|-----------------|------|-------------------|----|
| <i>Waterford</i> | C. | <i>Clonmell</i> | X. | <i>Dundalk</i> | X. |
| <i>Cork</i> | L. | <i>Casbell</i> | X. | <i>Mellingare</i> | X. |
| <i>Limerick</i> | L. | <i>Fedard</i> | X. | <i>Newrie</i> | X. |
| <i>Galway</i> | L. | <i>Kilkenny</i> | XXV. | <i>Trim</i> | X. |
| <i>Dinglecush</i> | X. | <i>Wexford</i> | XXV. | <i>Ardee</i> | X. |
| <i>Kingsale</i> | X. | <i>Tredagh</i> | XXV. | <i>Kells</i> | X. |
| <i>Yoghall</i> | X. | <i>Rofs</i> | XXV. | <i>Dublin</i> | C. |
| <i>Kilmallock</i> | X. | | | | |

In all 580.

Eudox. It is easy, *Ireneus*, to lay a Charge upon any Town; but to foresee how the same may be answered and defrayed, is the chief part of good Advisement.

Iren. Surely this Charge which I put upon them, I know to be so reasonable, as that it will not much be felt; for the Port Towns that have the Benefit of Shipping, may cut it easily off their Trading; and In-land Towns of their Corn and Cattle: neither do I see, but since to them especially the Benefit of Peace doth redound, that they especially should bear the burthen of their Safeguard and Defence, as we see all the Towns of the *Low-Countries* do cut upon themselves an Excise of all things towards the Maintenance of the War that is made in their behalf; to which, though these are not to be compared in Riches, yet are they to be charged according to their Poverty.

Eudox.

Endox. But now that you have thus set up these Forces of Soldiers, and provided well (as you suppose) for their Pay, yet there remaineth to fore-cast how they may be victualled, and where Purveyance may thereof be made; for in *Ireland* itself, I cannot see almost how any thing is to be had for them, being already so pitifully wasted, as it is with this short time of War.

Iren. For the first two Years, it is needful indeed, that they be victualled out of *England* thoroughly, from half-year to half-year, afore-hand. All which time the *English* Pale shall not be burdened at all, but shall have time to recover themselves. And *Mounster* also being reasonably well stored, will by that time, (if God send seasonable Weather) be thoroughly well-furnished to supply a great part of that Charge; for I know there is great plenty of Corn sent over Sea from thence, the which if they might have sale for at home, they would be glad to have Mony so near hand; specially if they were streightly restrained from transporting of it. Thereunto, also there will be a great help and furtherance given, in the putting forward of Husbandry in all meet places, as hereafter shall in due place appear. But hereafter when things shall grow unto a better strength, and the Countrey be replenished with Corn, as in short space it will, if it be well followed, for the Countrey
People

People themselves are great Plowers, and small Spenders of Corn ; then would I wish that there should be good store of Houses and Magazines erected in all those great places of Garison, and in all great Towns, as well for the victualling of Soldiers and Ships, as for all Occasions of suddain Services ; as also for preventing of all times of Dearth and Scarcity. And this want is much to be complained of in *England*, above all other Countries, who trusting too much to the usual Blessing of the Earth, do never fore-cast any such hard Seasons, nor any such suddain Occasions as these troublous Times may every day bring forth, when it will be too late to gather provision from abroad, and to bring it perhaps from far, for the furnishing of Ships or Soldiers, which peradventure may need to be presently imployed, and whose want may (which God forbid) hap to hazard a Kingdom.

Eudox. Indeed the Want of those Magazines of Victuals, I have oftentimes complained of in *England*, and wondered at in other Countreys ; but that is nothing now to our purpose : but as for these Garisons which you have now so strongly planted throughout all *Ireland*, and every place swarming with Soldiers, shall there be no End of them ? For now thus being (methinks) I do see rather a Countrey of War, than of Peace and Quiet, which you earst pretended to work in *Ireland* ; for if you bring all things to that Quiet-
ness

ness that you said, what then needeth to maintain so great Forces, as you have charged upon it?

Iren. I will unto you, *Eudox.* in privy discover the Drift of my Purpose; I mean (as I told you) and do well hope thereby both to settle an eternal Peace in that Countrey, and also to make it very profitable to her Majesty; the which I see must be brought in with a strong hand, and so continued, till it run in a stedfast Course of Government, which in this sort will neither be difficult nor dangerous: for the Soldier being once brought in for the Service into *Ulster*, and having subdued it and *Connaght*, I will not have him to lay down his Arms any more, till he have effected that which I purpose; that is, first to have this general Composition for maintenance of these throughout all the Realm, in regard of the troublous Times, and daily Danger which is threatned to this Realm by the King of *Spain*. And thereupon to bestow all my Soldiers in such sort as I have done, that no part of all that Realm shall be able to dare to quinch: Then will I eftsoons bring in my Reformation, and thereupon establish such a Form of Government, as I may think meetest for the Good of that Realm; which being once settled, and all things put into a right way, I doubt not but they will run on fairly. And though they would ever seek to swerve aside, yet shall they not be able without foreign Violence,

Violence, once to remove, as you yourself shall soon (I hope) in your own reason readily conceive; which if it shall ever appear, then may her Majesty at pleasure withdraw some of the Garisons, and turn their Pay into her Purse: or if she will never please so to do (which I would rather wish) then shall she have a number of brave old Soldiers always ready for any occasion that she will imploy them unto, supplying their Garisons with fresh ones in their stead. The maintenance of whom, shall be no more charge to her Majesty, than now that Realm is; for all the Revenue thereof, and much more she spendeth, even in the most peaceable times that are there, as things now stand. And in time of War, which is now surely every seventh Year, she spendeth infinite Treasure besides to small purpose.

Eudox. I perceive your Purpose; but now that you have thus strongly made way unto your Reformation, and that I see the People so humbled and prepared, that they will and must yield to any Ordinance that shall be given them, I do much desire to understand the same: for, in the beginning you promised to shew a means how to redress all those Inconveniences and Abuses, which you shewed to be in that state of Government, which now stands there; as in the Laws, Customs, and Religion. Wherein I would gladly know first, whether in stead of those Laws, you would have
new

new Laws made; for now, for ought that I see, you may do what you please.

Iren. I see, *Eudox.* that you well remember our first Purpose, and do rightly continue the Course thereof. First therefore to speak of Laws, since we first began with them: I do not think it now convenient, though it be in the Power of the Prince, to change all the Laws, and make new; for that should breed a great Trouble and Confusion, as well in the *English* there dwelling, and to be planted, as also in the *Irish*. For the *English* having been always trained up in the *English* Government, will hardly be inured to any other, and the *Irish* will better be drawn to the *English*, than the *English* to the *Irish* Government. Therefore sithence we cannot now apply Laws fit to the People, as in the first Institutions of Commonwealths it ought to be, we will apply the People and fit them unto the Laws, as it most conveniently may be. The Laws therefore we resolve shall abide in the same sort that they do, both Common Law and Statutes; only such Defects in the Common Law, and Inconveniences in the Statutes, as in the beginning we noted, and as Men of deeper Insight shall advise, may be changed by some other new Acts and Ordinances, to be by a Parliament there confirmed: as those for Trials of Pleas of the Crown, and private Rights between Parties, colourable Conveyances, and Accessaries.

Eudox.

Eudox. But how will those be redressed by Parliament, when as the *Irish* which sway most in Parliament, (as you said) shall oppose themselves against them.

Iren. That may well now be avoided: For now that so many Freeholders of *English* shall be established, they together with Burgesses of Towns, and such other loyal *Irishmen*, as may be preferred to be Knights of the Shire, and such like, will be able to beard, and to counterpoise the rest; who also being now more brought in awe, will the more easily submit to any such Ordinances as shall be for the good of themselves, and that Realm generally.

Eudox. You say well, for by the Increase of Freeholders their numbers hereby will be greatly augmented: but how shall it pass through the higher House, which still must consist all of *Irish*?

Iren. Marry that also may be redressed by example of that which I have heard was done in the like case by King *Edward* the Third (as I remember) who being greatly bearded and crossed by the Lords of the Clergy, they being there, by reason of the Lords Abbots, and others, too many and too strong for him, so as he could not for their Frowardness, order and reform things as he desired; was advised to direct out his Writs to certain Gentlemen of the best Ability

Ability and Truſt, entitling them therein Barons, to ſerve, and ſit as Barons in the next Parliament. By which means he had ſo many Barons in his Parliament, as were able to weigh down the Clergy and their Friends: the which Barons, they ſay, were not afterwards Lords, but only Baronets, as ſundry of them do yet retain the name. And by the like Device her Maſteſty may now likewiſe curb and cut ſhort thoſe *Iriſh* and unruly Lords, that hinder all good Proceedings.

Eudox. It ſeems no leſs than for reforming of all thoſe inconvenient Statutes that you noted in the beginning, and redreſſing of all thoſe evil Customs; and laſtly, for ſettling of ſound Religion amongſt them, methinks, you ſhall not need any more to over-goe thoſe Particulars again, which you mentioned, nor any other which might beſides be remembred; but to leave all to the Reformation of ſuch a Parliament, in which, by the good Care of the Lord Deputy and Council, they may all be amended. Therefore now you may come unto that general Reformation which you ſpake of, and bringing in of that Eſta bliſhment, by which you ſaid all Men ſhould be contained in Duty ever after, without the terrour of warlike Forces, or violent wreſting of things by ſharp Punishments.

Iren. I will so at your pleasure ; the which (methinks) can by no means be better plotted, than by ensample of such other Realms as have been annoyed with like Evils that *Ireland* now is, and useth still to be. And first in this our Realm of *England*, it is manifest by Report of the Chronicles, and ancient Writers, that it was greatly infested with Robbers and Outlaws ; which lurking in Woods and fast Places, used often to break forth into the Highways, and sometimes into small Villages to rob and spoil. For redress whereof it is written, that King *Alured*, or *Aldred*, did divide the Realm into Shires, and the Shires into Hundreds, and the Hundreds into Lathes or Wapentacks, and the Wapentacks into Tythings ; so that ten Tythings make an Hundred, and five make a Lathe or Wapentack : of which ten, each one was bound for another, and the eldest or best of them, whom they called the Tythingman or Borfolder, that is the eldest Pledge, became Surety for all the rest. So that if any one of them did start into any undutiful Action, the Borfolder was bound to bring him forth ; when joining estfoons with all his Tything, would follow that loose Person through all places, till they brought him in. And if all that Tything failed, then all that Lathe was charged for that Tything ; and if that Lathe failed, then all that Hundred was demanded for them ; and if the Hundred, then the Shire, who joining estfoons together, would

not

not rest till they had found out and delivered in that undutiful Fellow, which was not amenable to Law. And herein it seems, that that good *Saxon* King followed the Counsel of *Jethro* to *Moses*, who advised him to divide the People into Hundreds, and to set Captains and wise Men of Trust over them, who should take the Charge of them, and Ease of that Burthen. And so did *Romulus* (as you may read) divide the *Romans* into Tribes, and the Tribes into Centuries or Hundreds. By this Ordinance, this King brought this Realm of *England* (which before was most troublesome) unto that quiet State, that no one bad Person could stir, but he was straight taken hold of by those of his own Tything, and their Bosfold, who being his Neighbour or next Kinsman, were privy to all his Ways, and looked narrowly into his Life. The which Institution (if it were observed in *Ireland*) would work that Effect which it did in *England*, and keep all Men within the Compass of Duty and Obedience.

Eudox. This is contrary to that you said before; for, as I remember, you said, that there was a great Disproportion between *England* and *Ireland*, so as the Laws which were fitting for one, would not fit the other. How comes it now then, that you would transfer a principal Institution from *England* to *Ireland*?

Iren. This Law was not made by the *Norman Conqueror*, but by a *Saxon King*, at what time *England* was very like to *Ireland*, as now it stands: for it was (as I told you) annoyed greatly with Robbers and Out-Laws, which troubled the whole State of the Realm, every Corner having a *Robin Hood* in it, that kept the Woods, that spoiled all Passengers and Inhabitants, as *Ireland* now hath: so as, methinks, this Ordinance would fit very well, and bring them all into Awe.

Eudox. Then when you have thus tythed the Commonalty, as you say, and set Borfolders over them all, what would you do when you came to the Gentlemen? Would you hold the same Course?

Iren. Yea marry, most especially: for this you must know, that all the *Irish* almost boast themselves to be Gentlemen, no less than the *Welsh*; for if he can derive himself from the Head of any Sept (as most of them can, they are so expert by their Bards) then he holdeth himself a Gentleman, and thereupon scorneth to work, or use any hard Labour, which, he saith, is the Life of a Peasant or Churl; but thenceforth becometh either an Horse-boy, or a *Stocah* to some Kern, enuring himself to his Weapon, and to the Gentlemanly Trade of stealing (as they count it.) So that if a Gentleman, or any wealthy Yeoman

Yeoman of them, have any Children, the eldest of them, perhaps shall be kept in some order, but all the rest shall shift for themselves, and fall to this Occupation. And moreover it is a common Use amongst some of their Gentlemens Sons, that so soon as they are able to use their Weapons, they straight gather to themselves three or four Straglers, or Kern, with whom wandring awhile up and down idly the Countrey, taking only Meat, he at last falleth unto some bad Occasion that shall be offered; which being once made known, he is thenceforth counted a Man of Worth, in whom there is Courage: whereupon there draw to him many other like loose young Men, which stirring him up with Encouragement, provoke him shortly to flat Rebellion. And this happens not only sometimes in the Sons of their Gentlemen, but also of their Noblemen, especially of them who have base Sons. For they are not only not asham'd to acknowledge them, but also boast of them, and use them to such secret Services, as they themselves will not be seen in; as to plague their Enemies, to spoil their Neighbours, to oppress and crush some of their own too stubborn Freeholders, which are not tractable to their Wills.

Eudox. Then it seemeth, that this Ordinance of Tything them by the Pole, is not only fit for the Gentlemen, but also for the Noblemen, whom I would have thought to be of so honourable a Mind, as that they should not need such

a kind of being bound to their Allegiance, who should rather have held in, and staid all the other from Undutifulness, than need to be forced thereunto themselves.

Iren. Yea so it is, *Eudorus*; but because that Noblemen cannot be tythed, there being not many Tythings of them, and also because a Borfolder over them should be not only a great Indignity, but also a Danger to add more Power to them than they have, or to make one the Commander of ten; I hold it meeter that there were only Sureties taken of them, and one bound for another; whereby if any shall swerve, his Sureties shall, for Safe-guard of their Bonds, either bring him in, or seek to serve upon him. And besides this, I would wish them all to be sworn to her Majesty, which they never yet were, but at the first Creation; and that Oath would sure contain them greatly, or the Breach of it bring them to shorter Vengeance, for God useth to punish Perjury sharply. So I read, that there was a corporal Oath taken in the Reigns of *Edward* the Second, and of *Henry* the Seventh (when the Times were very broken) of all the Lords and best Gentlemen, of Fealty to the King; which now is no less needful, because many of them are suspected to have taken another Oath privily to some bad Purposes, and thereupon to have received the Sacrament, and been sworn to a Priest, which they think bindeth

eth them more than their Allegiance to their Prince, or Love of their Country.

Eudox. This Tything to the Common People, and taking Sureties of Lords and Gentlemen, I like very well, but that it will be very troublefom: should it not be as well for to have them all booked, and the Lords and Gentlemen to take all the meaner sort upon themselves, for they are best able to bring them in, whensoever any of them starteth out?

Iren. This indeed, *Eudoxus*, hath been hitherto, and yet is a common Order amongst them, to have all the People booked by the Lords and Gentlemen; but yet the worst Order that ever was advised: for by this booking of Men, all the inferior sort are brought under the Command of their Lords, and forced to follow them into any Action whatsoever. Now this you are to understand, that all the Rebellions, which you see from time to time happen in *Ireland*, are not begun by the Common People, but by the Lords and Captains of Countreys, upon Pride or wilful Obstinacy against the Government; which whensoever they will enter into, they draw with them all their People and Followers, which think themselves bound to go with them, because they have booked them, and undertaken for them. And this is the reason that in *England* you have such few bad Occasions, by reason that the Noblemen, however they should happen

to be evil disposed, have no Command at all over the Commonalty, though dwelling under them, because that every Man standeth upon himself, and buildeth his Fortunes upon his own Faith and firm Assurance. The which this manner of tything the Poles will work also in *Ireland*; for by this, the People are broken into many small Parts, like little Streams, that they cannot easily come together into one Head, which is the principal Regard that is to be had in *Ireland*, to keep them from growing unto such a Head, and adhering unto great Men.

Eudox. But yet I cannot see how this can be well brought without doing great wrong unto the Noblemen there; for at the first Conquest of that Realm, those great Seigniorics and Lordships were given them by the King, that they should be the stronger against the *Irish*, by the Multitudes of Followers and Tenants under them; all which hold their Tenements of them by Fealty, and such Services, whereby they are (by the first Grant of the King) made bounden unto them, and tied to rise out with them into all Occasions of Service. And this I have often heard, that when the Lord *Deputy* hath raised any general Hostings, the Noblemen have claimed the leading of them by Grant from the Kings of *England*, under the Great Seal exhibited; so as the *Deputies* could not refuse them to have the leading of them, or if they did, they would so
work,

work, as none of their Followers should rise forth to the Hostage.

Iren. You say very true; but will you see the Fruit of those Grants? I have known when those Lords have had the leading of their own Followers under them to the general Hostings, that they have for the same cut upon every Plow-Land within their Country forty Shillings or more; whereby some of them have gathered together above seven or eight hundred Pounds, and others much more, into their Purse; in lieu whereof, they have gathered unto themselves a number of loose Kearn out of all Parts, which they have carried forth with them, to whom they never gave any penny of Entertainment, allowed by the Country, or forced by them, but let them feed upon the Countrys, and extort upon all Men where they come: for that People will never ask better Entertainment, than to have a colour of Service or Employment given them, by which they will poll and spoil so outrageously, as the very Enemy cannot do much worse: and they also sometimes turn to the Enemy.

Eudox. It seems, the first Intent of those Grants was against the *Irish*, which now some of them use against the Queen herself: But now, what Remedy is there for this? or how can those Grants of the Kings be avoided, without

wronging of those Lords, which had those Lands and Lordships given them ?

Iren. Surely they may be well enough, for most of those Lords, since their first Grants from the Kings, by which those Lands were given them, have thence bestowed the most part of them amongst their Kinsfolk ; as every Lord perhaps hath given in his time one or another of his principal Castles to his younger Son, and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him ; and others they have sold, and others they have bought, which were not in their first Grant, which now nevertheless they bring within the Compass thereof ; and take and exact upon them, as upon their first Demesnes, all those kind of Services, yea, and the very wild Exactions, *Coignie, Livery, Sorebon*, and such like ; by which they poll and utterly undo the poor Tenants and Freeholders under them, which either through Ignorance know not their Tenures, or through Greatness of their new Lords dare not challenge them : yea, and some Lords of Countrys also, as great ones as themselves, are now by strong hand brought under them, and made their Vassals. As for example, *Arundel* of the *Stronde*, in the County of *Cork*, who was anciently a great Lord, and was able to spend 3500 *l.* by the Year, as appeareth by good Records, is now become the Lord *Barrie's* Man, and doth to him all those Services which are due unto her Majesty.

jesty. For reformation of all which, I wish that
 there were a Commission granted forth, under
 the Great Seal, as I have seen one recorded in
 the old Council-Book of *Mounster*, that was sent
 forth in the time of Sir *William Drury*, unto
 Persons of special Trust and Judgment, to in-
 quire throughout all *Ireland*, beginning with one
 County first, and so resting awhile till the same
 were settled, by the Verdict of a sound and sub-
 stantial Jury, how every Man holdeth his Land,
 of whom, and by what Tenure; so that every
 one should be admitted to shew and exhibit what
 Right he hath, and by what Services he holdeth
 his Land, whether in Chief, or in Soccage, or
 by Knights Service, or how else soever. There-
 upon would appear, first, how all those great
English Lords do claim those great Services,
 what Seigniories they usurp, what Wardships
 they take from the Queen, what Lands of hers
 they conceal. And then, how those *Irish* Cap-
 tains of Countrys have incroached upon the
 Queen's Freeholders and Tenants, how they
 have translated the Tenures of them from *English*
 holding, unto *Irish Tanistry*, and defeated her
 Majesty of all her Rights and Duties which are
 to accrue to her thereout; as Wardships, Live-
 ries, Marriages, Fines of Alienations, and many
 other Commodities, which now are kept and
 concealed from her Majesty, to the value of
 40000 *l. per annum*, I dare undertake in all *Ire-*
land, by that which I know in one County.

Eudox.

Eudox. This, *Ireneus*, would seem a dangerous Commission, and ready to stir up all the *Irish* in Rebellion, who knowing that they have nothing to shew for all those Lands which they hold, but their Swords, would rather draw them, than suffer the Lands to be thus drawn away from them.

Iren. Neither should their Lands be taken away from them, nor the utmost Advantages enforced against them: But this, by Discretion of the Commissioners, should be made known unto them, that it is not her Majesty's meaning to use any such Extremity, but only to reduce things into order of *English* Law, and make them hold their Lands of her, and to restore to her her due Services, which they detain out of those Lands, which were anciently held of her. And that they should not only not be thrust out, but also have Estates and Grants of their Lands new made to them from her Majesty, so as they should thenceforth hold them rightfully, which they now usurp wrongfully. And yet withal I would wish, that in all those *Irish* Countrys there were some Land reserved to her Majesty's free Disposition, for the better containing of the rest, and intermingling them with *English* Inhabitants and Customs, that Knowledg might still be had of them, and of all their Doings, so as no manner of Practice or Conspiracy should be had in hand amongst them, but notice should be

be given thereof by one means or another, and their Practices prevented.

Eudox. Truly neither can the *Irish* nor yet the *English* Lords think themselves wronged, nor hardly dealt withal herein, to have that which is indeed none of their own at all, but her Majesty's absolutely given to them, with such equal Conditions, as that both they may be assured thereof better than they are, and also her Majesty not defrauded of her Right utterly : For it is a great Grace in a Prince, to take that with Conditions, which is absolutely her own. Thus shall the *Irish* be well satisfy'd. And as for the great Men which had such Grants made to them at first by the Kings of *England*, it was in regard that they should keep forth the *Irish*, and defend the King's Right, and his Subjects : but now seeing that instead of defending them, they rob and spoil them ; and instead of keeping out the *Irish*, they do not only make the *Irish* their Tenants in those Lands, and thrust out the *English*, but also some of themselves become meer *Irish*, with marrying with them, with fostering with them, and combining with them against the Queen ; what reason is there, but that those Grants and Privileges should be either revoked, or at least reduced to the first Intention for which they were granted ? For sure, in mine opinion, they are more sharply to be chastised and reformed, than the rude *Irish*, which
being

being very wild at the first, are now become more civil; whereas these, from Civility, are grown to be wild and meer *Irish*.

Iren. Indeed, as you say, *Eudoxus*, these do need a sharper Reformation than the *Irish*; for they are more stubborn and disobedient to Law and Government than the *Irish* be.

Eudox. In truth, *Ireneus*, this is more than ever I heard that any *English* there should be worse than the *Irish*: Lord, how quickly doth that Country alter Mens Natures? It is not for nothing (I perceive) which I have heard, that the Council of *England* think it no good Policy to have that Realm reformed, or planted with *English*, lest they should grow so undutiful as the *Irish*, and become more dangerous: As appeareth by the Examples of the *Lacies* in the time of *Edward* the Second, which you spake of, that shook off their Allegiance to their Natural Prince, and turned to *Edward le Bruce*, to make him King of *Ireland*.

Iren. No Times have been without bad Men: But as for that Purpose of the Council of *England*, which you spake of, that they should keep that Realm from Reformation, I think they are most leudly abus'd; for their great Carefulness, and earnest Endeavours do witness the contrary. Neither is it the Nature of the Country to alter Mens Manners, but the bad Minds of the Men, who.

who having been brought up at home under a strait Rule of Duty and Obedience, being always restrained by sharp Penalties from leud Behaviour, so soon as they come thither, where they see Laws more slackly tended, and the hard Restraint which they were used unto, now slack'd, they grow more loose and careless of their Duty : and as it is the Nature of all Men to love Liberty, so they become flat Libertines, fall to all Licentiousness, more boldly daring to disobey the Laws, through the Presumption of Favour and Friendship, than any *Irish* dareth.

Eudox. Then if that be so, methinks, your late Advise ment was very Evil, whereby you wish'd the *Irish* to be sewed and sprinkled with *English*, and in all the *Irish* Countrys to have *English* planted amongst them, for to bring them to *English* Fashions, since the *English* sooner draw to the *Irish*, than the *Irish* to the *English* : For, as you said before, if they must run with the Stream, the greater Number will carry away the less. Therefore, methinks, by this Reason it should be better to part the *Irish* and *English*, than to mingle them together.

Iren. Not so, *Eudoxus* ; but where there is no good Stay of Government, and strong Ordinances to hold them, there indeed the fewer follow the more ; but where there is due Order of Discipline and good Rule, there the better shall go foremost, and the worst shall follow. And therefore

fore now, since *Ireland* is full of her own Nation, that ought not to be rooted out, and somewhat stored with *English* already, and more to be; I think it best, by an Union of Manners, and Conformity of Minds, to bring them to be one People, and to put away the dislikeful Conceit both of the one and the other, which will be by no means better, than by this intermingling of them. For neither all the *Irish* may dwell together, nor all the *English*, but by translating of them, and scattering them amongst the *English*, not only to bring them, by daily Conversation to better liking of each other, but also to make both of them less able to hurt. And therefore when I come to the tything of them, I will tythe them one with another, and, for the most part, will make an *Irishman* the Tything-man, whereby he shall take the less Exception to Partiality, and yet be the more tied thereby. But when I come to the *Head-Borough*, which is the Head of the Lathe, him will I make an *Englishman*, or an *Irishman* of special Assurance. As also when I come to appoint the *Alderman*, that is the Head of the hundred, him will I surely chuse to be an *Englishman*, of special Regard, that may be a Stay and pillar of all the Borough under him.

Eudox. What do you mean by your Hundred, and what by your Borough? By that that I have read in ancient Records of *England*, an Hundred did contain an hundred Villages, or, as some say,
an

an Hundred Plow-Lands, being the same which the Saxons called *Cantred*; the which *Cantred*, as I find it recorded in the black Book of [*the Exchequer of*] *Ireland*, did contain 30 *Villatas terræ*, which some call Quarters of Land; and every *Villata* can maintain 400 Cows in Pasture, and the 400 Cows to be divided into four Herds, so as none of them shall come near other: every *Villata* containing 18 Plow-Lands, as is there set down. And by that which I have read of a Borough, it signifieth a Free-Town, which had a principal Officer, called a Head Borough, to become Ruler, and undertake for all the Dwellers under him, having for the same, Franchises and Priviledges granted them by the King, whereof it was called a Free-Borough, and of the Lawyers *Franci plegium*.

Iren. Both that which you said, *Endoxus*, is true, and yet that which I said not untrue. For that which you spake of dividing the Country into Hundreds, was a Division of the Lands of the Realm; but this which I tell was of the People, which were thus divided by the Pole: so that Hundred in this Sense signifieth a hundred Pledges, which were under the Command and Assurance of their Alderman; the which (as I suppose) was also called a Wapentake, so named of touching the Weapon or Spear of their Alderman; and swearing to follow him faithfully, and serve their Prince truly. But others think, that a Weppontake was ten hundreds or Boroughs. Likewise
a Borough,

a Borough, as I here use it, and as the old Laws still use, is not a Borough-Town, as they now call it, that is a franchised Town; but a main Pledge of a hundred free Persons, therefore called a free Borough, or, (as you say) *Franci plegium*. For *Borh*, in old *Saxon*, signifieth a Pledge or Surety; and yet it is so used with us in some Speeches (as *Chaucer* saith) *St. John to Boroh*, that is for Assurance and Warranty.

Eudox. I conceive the Difference. But now that you have thus divided the People into these Tythings and Hundreds, how will you have them so preserved and continued? for People do often change their Dwelling-Places; and some must die, whilst others some do grow up into Strength of years, and become Men.

Iren. These hundreds I would wish to assemble themselves once every year with their Pledges, and to present themselves before the Justices of the Peace, which shall be thereunto appointed, to be surveyed and numbered, to see what change hath hapned, since the Year before; and the defects to supply, of young Plants late grown up, the which are diligently to be overlooked and viewed, of what Condition and Demeanour they be, so as Pledges may be taken for them, and they put into Order of some Tything. Of all which Alterations, Notes are to be taken; and Books made thereof accordingly.

Eudox.

Eudox. Now, methinks, *Ireneus*, you are to be warned to take heed, lest unawares you fall into that Inconvenience which you formerly found fault with in others ; namely, that by this Booking of them, you do not gather them into a new Head ; and having broken their former Strength, do not unite them more strongly again. For every *Alderman*, having all these free Pledges of his Hundred under his Command, may, methinks, if he be evil disposed, draw all his Company into an evil Action. And likewise by this assembling of them once a Year unto their Alderman by their Wapentakes ; take heed lest you also give them Occasion and means to practice together in any Conspiracies,

Iren. Neither of Both is to be doubted ; for their Aldermen and Head-Boroughs will not be such Men of Power and Countenance of themselves, being to be chosen thereunto, as need to be feared : Neither if he were, is his hundred at his Command further than his Prince's Service ; and also every Tything-man may control him in such a case. And as for the assembling of the Hundred, much less is any danger thereof to be doubted, seeing it is before some Justice of Peace, or some High-Constable, to be thereunto appointed. So as of these Tythings, there can no Peril ensue, but a certain Assurance of Peace and great Good ; for they are thereby withdrawn from their Lords, and subjected to the Prince.

Moreover,

Moreover, for the better breaking of these Heads and Septs, which (I told you) was one of the greatest Strenghts of the *Irish*, methinks it should be very well to renew that old Statute which was made in the Reign of *Edward* the Fourth in *Ireland*, by which it was commanded, that whereas all Men then used to be called by the Name of their Septs, according to the several Nations, and had no Surnames at all; that from thenceforth each one should take upon himself a several Surname, either of his Trade and Faculty, or of some Quality of his Body or Mind, or of the Place where he dwelt; so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part whereby they shall not only not depend upon the Head of their Sept, as now they do, but also in time learn quite to forget his *Irish* Nation. And herewithall would I also wish all the *O's* and the *Mac's*, which the Heads of Septs have taken to their Names, to be utterly forbidden and extinguished. For that the same being an Ordinance (as some say) first made by *O'Brien* for the strengthening of the *Irish*, the abrogating thereof will as much enfeeble them.

Eudox. I like this Ordinance very well. But now that you have thus divided and distinguished them, what other Order will you take for their manner of Life?

Iren. The next Thing that I will do, shall be, to appoint to every one that is not able to live of
his

his Free-hold, a certain Trade of Life, to which he shall find himself fittest, and shall be thought ablest; the which Trade he shall be bound to follow, and live only thereupon. All Trades therefore are to be understood to be of three kinds, *Manual, Intellectual* and *Mixed*. The first containeth all such as needeth Exercise of bodily Labour, to the Performance of their Profession. The second, consisting only of the Exercise of Wit and Reason. The third sort, part of bodily Labour, and part of Wit, but depending most of Industry and Carefulness. Of the first Sort, be all Handycrafts and Husbandry Labour. Of the second, be all Sciences, and those which be called Liberal Arts. Of the third is, Merchandise and Chaffery; that is, Buying and Selling. And without all these three there is no Commonwealth can almost consist, or at the least be perfect. But the Realm of *Ireland* wanteth the most principal of them, that is, the *Intellectual*; therefore in seeking to reform her State, it is specially to be looked unto. But because by Husbandry, which supplieth unto us all things necessary for Food, we chiefly live; therefore it is first to be provided for. The first thing therefore that we are to draw these new tythed Men into, ought to be Husbandry: First, because it is the most easy to be learned, needing only the Labour of the Body. Next, because it is most general, and most needful. Then, because it is most natural. And lastly, because it is most Enemy to War,

War, and most hateth Unquietness: As the Poet saith,

——— *Bella execrata colonis,*

For Husbandry being the Nurse of Thrift, and the Daughter of Industry and Labour, detesteth all that may work her Scathe, and destroy the Travail of her Hands, whose Hope is all her Lives Comfort unto the Plough; therefore are those Kearn, Stocaghes and Horse-boys to be driven and made to imploy that Ableness of Body which they were wont to use to Theft and Villany, henceforth to Labour and Industry. In the which, by that time they have spent but a little Pain, they will find such Sweetness and happy Contentment, that they will afterwards hardly be haled away from it, or drawn to their wonted leud Life in Thievery and Roguery. And being once thus inured thereunto, they are not only to be countenanced and encouraged by all good means; but also provided that their Children after them may be brought up likewise in the same, and succeed in the rooms of their Fathers. To which end there is a Statute in *Ireland* already well provided, which commandeth, that all the Sons of Husbandmen shall be trained up in their Fathers Trades; but it is (God wot) very slenderly executed.

Eudox. But do you not count in this Trade of Husbandry, pasturing of Cattle, and keeping
of

of their Cows? for that is reckoned as a part of Husbandry.

Iren. I know it is, and needfully to be used; but I do not mean to allow any of those able Bodies, which are able to use bodily Labour, to follow a few Cows grazing. But such impotent Persons, as being unable for strong Travail, are yet able to drive Cattle to and fro to their Pasture; for this keeping of Cows, is of itself a very idle Life, and a fit Nursery for a Thief. For which cause (you remember) I disliked the *Irish* manner of keeping *Boolies* in Summer upon the Mountains, and living after that savage sort. But if they will algaes feed many Cattle, or keep them on the Mountains, let them make some Towns near to the Mountain's side, where they may dwell together with Neighbours, and be conversant in the View of the World. And to say truth, though *Ireland* be by nature counted a great Soyl of Pasture, yet had I rather have fewer Cows kept, and Men better mannered, than to have such huge increase of Cattle, and no increase of good Conditions. I would therefore wish, that there were some Ordinances made amongst them, that whosoever keepeth twenty Kine, should keep a Plough going, for otherwise all Men would fall to Pasturage, and none to Husbandry; which is a great Cause of this Dearth now in *England*, and a Cause of the usual Stealths in *Ireland*: For look into all Countreys that live in such sort by keeping of Cattle,

Cattle, and you shall find that they are both very barbarous and uncivil, and also greatly given to War. The *Tartarians*, the *Muscovites*, the *Norwegians*, the *Goths*, the *Armenians*, and many other do witness the same. And therefore since now we purpose to draw the *Irish* from desire of War and Tumults, to the love of Peace and Civility, it is expedient to abridge their great Custom of hardning, and augment their Trade of Tillage and Husbandry. As for other Occupations and Trades, they need not be enforced to, but every Man to be bound only to follow one that he thinks himself aptest for. For other Trades of Artificers will be occupied for very Necessity, and constrained Use of them; and so likewise will Merchandise for the Gain thereof: But Learning and bringing up in Liberal Sciences will not come of itself, but must be drawn on with streight Laws and Ordinances. And therefore it were meet that such an Act were ordained, that all the Sons of Lords, Gentlemen, and such others as are able to bring them up in Learning, should be trained up therein from their Childhoods; and for that end, every Parish should be forced to keep a petty School-master adjoining unto the Parish-Church, to be the more in view, which should bring up their Children in the first Elements of Letters: and that in every County or Baronry, they should keep another able School-master, which should instruct them in Grammar, and in the Principles of Sciences,

ences, to whom they should be compelled to send their Youth to be disciplined ; whereby they will in short space grow up to that civil Conversation, that both the Children will loath their former Rudeness in which they were bred, and also their Parents will, even by the Ensamble of their young Children, perceive the foulness of their own Behaviour, compared to theirs. For Learning hath that wonderful Power in itself, that it can soften and temper the most stern and savage Nature.

Eudox. Surely I am of your Mind, that nothing will bring them from their uncivil Life sooner than Learning and Discipline, next after the Knowledg and Fear of GOD. And therefore I do still expect that you should come thereunto, and set some Order for Reformation of Religion, which is first to be respected ; according to the saying of *CHRIST*, *Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Righteousness thereof.*

Iren. I have in mind so to do ; but let me (I pray you) first finish that which I had in hand, whereby all the Ordinances which shall afterwards be set for Religion, may abide the more firmly, and be observed more diligently. Now that this People is thus tythed and ordered, and every one bound unto some honest Trade of Life, which shall be particularly entred and set down in the Tything-Book ; yet perhaps there will be some

Straglers and Runnagates, which will not of themselves come in, and yield themselves to this Order; and yet after the well finishing of the present War, and establishing of the Garisons in all strong Places of the Countrey, where their wonted Refuge was most, I suppose there will few stand out; or if they do, they will shortly be brought in by the Ears. But yet afterwards, lest any one of them should swerve, or any that is tied to a Trade, should afterwards not follow the same, according to this Institution, but should straggle up and down the Countrey, or mich in in Corners among their Friends, idly, as *Carrowes*, *Bardes*, *Jesters*, and such like; I would wish that a Provost-Marshal should be appointed in every Shire, which should continually walk about the Countrey with half a dozen, or half a score Horsemen, to take up such loose Persons as they should find thus wandering, whom he should punish by his own Authority, with such Pains as the Person shall seem to deserve: for if he be but once so taken idly roguing, he may punish him more lightly, as with Stocks, or such like; but if he be found again so loitering, he may scourge him with Whips, or Rods; after which, if he be again taken, let him have the Bitterness of martial Law. Likewise if any Relicks of the old Rebellion be found by any, that either have not come in and submitted themselves to the law, or that having once come in, do break forth again, and walk disorderly, let them taste of the same Cup in God's Name; for it was due to
them

them for their first Guilt ; and now being revived by their latter Loosness, let them have their first Desert, as now being found unfit to live in the Commonwealth.

Eudox. This were a good Ordinance: but methinks it is an unnecessary Charge, and also unfit to continue the Name or Form of any Martial Law, when as there is a proper Officer already appointed for these Turns, to wit, the Sheriff of the Shire, whose peculiar Office it is to walk up and down his Bayliwick; as you would have a Marshal to snatch up all those Runnagates and unprofitable Members, and to bring them to his Goal to be punished for the same. Therefore this may well be spared.

Iren. Not so, methinks; for though the Sheriff have this Authority of himself to take up all such Straglers, and imprison them, yet shall he not do so much good, nor work that Terror in the Hearts of them, that a Marshal will, whom they shall know to have Power of Life and Death in such Cases, and especially to be appointed for them. Neither doth it hinder that, but that though it pertain to the Sheriff, the Sheriff may do therein what he can, and yet the marshal may walk his Course besides; for both of them may do the more good and more terrifie the idle Rogue; knowing, that though he have a Watch upon the one, yet he may light upon the other. But this proviso is needful to be had in this case,

that the Sheriff may not have the like Power of Life as the Marshal hath, and as heretofore they have been accustomed ; for it is dangerous to give Power of Life into the Hands of him which may have Benefit by the Party's Death: as if any loose Liver have any Goods of his own, the Sheriff is to seize thereupon; whereby it hath come to pass, that some who have not deserved Judgment of Death, though otherwise perhaps offending, have been for their Goods sake caught up, and carried streight to the Bough ; a thing indeed very pitiful and horrible. Therefore by no means I would have the Sheriff have such Authority, nor yet to imprison that Lozel till the Sessions; for so all Goals might soon be filled: but to send him to the Marshal, who estoons finding him faulty, shall give him meet Correction, and send him away forthwith.

Eudox. I do now perceive your reason well. But come we now to that whereof we earst spake; I mean to Religion and Religious Men: what Order will you set amongst them?

Iren. For Religion, little have I to say, myself being (as I said) not professed therein, and itself being but one, so as there is but one way therein; for that which is true only is, and the rest is not at all. Yet in planting of Religion, thus much is needful to be observed, that it be not sought forcibly to be impressed into them with Terroure and sharp Penalties, as now is the manner ;

ner; but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their Professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient, that some discreet Ministers of their own Countrey-Men be first sent over amongst them, which by their meek Persuasions and Instructions, as also by their sober Lives and Conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to embrace the Doctrine of their Salvation. For if that the ancient godly Fathers, which first converted them when they were Infidels, to the Faith, were able to pull them from Idolatry and Paganism, to the true Belief in *CHRIST*, as *St. Patrick* and *St. Columb*; how much more easily shall godly Teachers bring them to the true Understanding of that which they already professed? wherein it is great wonder to see the odds which is between the Zeal of Popish Priests and the Ministers of the Gospel; for they spare not to come out of *Spain*, from *Rome* and from *Remes*, by long Toil and dangerous travelling hither, where they know Peril of Death awaiteth them, and no Reward or Riches is to be found, only to draw the People unto the Church of *Rome*: whereas some of our idle Ministers, having a way for Credit and Estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the Livings of the Country offer'd unto them, without Pains, and without Peril, will neither for the same, nor any Love of God, nor Zeal of Religion, nor for all the Good they may do, by winning Souls to God, be drawn forth from

their warm Nests, to look out into God's Harvest, which is even ready for the Sickle, and all the Fields yellow long ago. Doubtless those good old godly Fathers will (I fear me) rise up in the Day of Judgment to condemn them.

Eudox. Surely it is great pity, *Iren.* that there are none chosen out of the Ministers of *England*, good sober and discreet Men, which might be sent over thither to teach and instruct them; and that there is not as much Care had of their Souls as of their Bodies: for the Care of both lieth upon the Prince.

Iren. Were there never so many sent over they should do small good till one Enormity be taken from them; that is, that both they be restrained from sending their young Men abroad to other Universities beyond the Sea, as *Remes*, *Doway*, *Lovain*, and the like; and others from abroad, be restrained from coming in to them: for they lurking secretly in their Houses, and in Corners of the Countrey, do more Hurt and Hindrance to Religion with their private Persuasions, than all the others can do Good with their publick Instructions; and though for these latter there be a good Statute there ordained, yet the same is not executed: and as for the former, there is no Law nor Order for their Restraint at all.

Eudox. I marvel it is no better looked unto; and not only this, but that also which I remember you mentioned in your Abuses concerning the
Profits

Profits and Revenues of the Lands of Fugitives in *Ireland*; which by pretence of certain colourable Conveyances are sent continually over unto them, to the comforting of them and others against her Majesty, for which here in *England* there is good Order taken: and why not then as well in *Ireland*? For though there be no Statute there yet enacted therefore, yet might her Majesty by her only Prerogative, seize the Fruits and Profits of those Fugitives Lands into her Hands, till they come over to testify their true Allegiance.

Iren. Indeed she might so do, but the comberous Times do perhaps hinder the Regard thereof, and of many other good Intentions.

Eudox. But why then did they not mend it in peaceable Times?

Iren. Leave we that to their grave Considerations; but proceed we forward. Next Care in Religion, is to build up and repair all the ruined Churches, whereof the most part lie even with the Ground; and some that have been lately repaired, are so unhandsomely patched, and thatched, that Men do even shun the Places for the Uncomeliness thereof. Therefore I would wish that there were Order taken to have them built in some better Form, according to the Churches of *England*: for the outward Shew (assure your self) doth greatly draw the rude People to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, whatever some

of our late too nice Fools say, there is nothing in the seemly Form and comely Order of the Church. And for the keeping and continuing them, there should likewise Churchwardens of the gravest men in the Parish be appointed, as they be here in *England*, which should take the yearly Charge both hereof, and also of the School-houses, which I wish to be built near the said Churches; for maintainance of both which, it were meet that some small Portion of Lands were allotted, sith no more Mortmains are to be looked for.

Eudox. Indeed, methinks, it would be so convenient; but when all is done, how will you have your Churches served, and your Ministers maintained? since the livings (as you say) are not sufficient scarce to make them Gowns, much less to yield meet Maintenance, according to the Dignity of their Degree.

Iren. There is no way to help that, but to lay two or three of them together, until such time as the Countrey grow more rich and better inhabited; at which time the Tythes, and other Obventions will also be more augmented and better valued: But now that we have thus gone through all the three sorts of Trades, and set a Course for their good Establishment, let us (if it please you) go next to some other needful Points of publick Matters, no less concerning the Good of the Commonwealth, though but accidentally depending on the former. And first, I wish that Order
were

were taken for the cutting and opening of all Places through Woods; so that a wide way of the space of 100 Yards might be laid open in every of them, for the Safety of Travellers, which use often in such perillous Places to be robbed, and sometimes murdered. Next, that Bridges were built upon the Rivers, and all the Fords marred and spoilt, so as none might pass any other way but by those Bridges, and every Bridge to have a Gate and a Gate-house set thereon; whereof this good will come, that no Night-Stealths, which are commonly driven in By-ways, and by blind Fords unused of any but such like, shall not be conveyed out of one Countrey into another, as they use, but they must pass by those Bridges, where they may either be haply encountred, or easily tracked, or not suffered to pass at all, by means of those Gate-Houses thereon. Also that in all Straits and narrow Passages, as between two Bogs, or through any deep Ford, or under any Mountain Side, there should be some little Fortilage, or wooden Castle set, which should keep and command that Straight, whereby any Rebels that should come into the Countrey might be stopped that way, or pass with great Peril. Moreover, that all High-ways should be fenced and shut up on both sides leaving only 40 Foot breadth for Passage, so as none should be able to pass but through the Highways; whereby Thieves and Night-Robbers might be the more easily pursued and encountred, when there shall be no other way to drive their stoln Cattle, but therein.

as I formerly declared. Further, that there should be in sundry convenient Places by the Highways, Towns appointed to be built ; the which should be free Boroughs, and incorporate under Bayliffs, to be by their Inhabitants well and strongly intrenched, or otherwise fenced with Gates on each side thereof, to be shut nightly, like as there is in many Places in the *English* Pale ; and all the ways about it to be strongly shut up, so as none should pass but through those Towns: To some of which it were good that the Privilege of a Market were given, the rather to strengthen and inable them to their Defence ; for there is nothing doth sooner cause Civility in any Countrey than many Market Towns, by reason that People repairing often thither for their Needs, will daily see and learn civil Manners of the better Sort. Besides, there is nothing doth more stay and strengthen the Countrey, than such Corporate Towns, as by proof in many Rebellions hath appeared ; in which when all the Countreys have swerved the Towns have stood fast, and yielded good Relief to the Soldiers in all Occasions of Services. And lastly there is indeed nothing doth more enrich any Countrey or Realm, than many Towns ; for to them will all the People draw and bring the Fruits of their Trades, as well to make Money of them, as to supply their needful Uses ; and the Countreymen will also be more industrious in Tillage, and rearing of all Husbandry Commodities, knowing that they shall have ready Sale for them at those Towns. And in all those
Towns

Towns should there be convenient Inns erected for the lodging and harbouring of Travellers, which are now oftentimes spoiled by lodging abroad in weak thatched Houses, for want of such safe Places to shroud them in.

Eudox. But what Profit shall your Market Towns reap of their Market, whenas each one may sell their Corn and Cattle abroad in the Countrey, and make their secret Bargains amongst themselves, as now I understand they use?

Iren. Indeed, *Eudoxus*, they do so, and thereby no small Inconvenience doth rise to the Commonwealth: for now when any one hath stoln a Cow or a Garron, he may secretly sell it in the Countrey, without Privy of any; whereas if he brought it to a Market Town, it would perhaps be known, and the Thief discovered. Therefore it were good that a straight Ordinance were made that none should buy or sell any Cattle, but in some open Market, (there being now Market Towns every where at hand) upon a great Penalty. Neither should they likewise buy any Corn to sell the same again, unless it were to make Malt thereof: for by such ingrossing and regrating, we see the Dearth that now commonly reigneth here in *England*, to have been caused. Hereunto also is to be added that good Ordinance, which I remember was once proclaimed throughout all *Ireland*; that all Men should mark their Cattle with an open several Mark upon their
Flanks

Flanks or Buttocks, so as if they happened to be stoln, they might appear whose they were; and they which should buy them, might thereby suspect the Owner, and be warned to abstain from buying them of a suspected Person, with such an unknown Mark.

Eudox. Surely these Ordinances seem very expedient, but specially that of free Towns, of which I wonder there is so small store in *Ireland*, and that in the first peopling and planting thereof, they were neglected and omitted.

Iren. They were not omitted, for there were through all Places of the Countrey convenient, many good Towns seated; which thorough that Inundation of the *Irish*, which I first told you of, were utterly wasted and defaced, of which the Ruins are yet in many Places to be seen, and of some no sign at all remaining, save only their bare Names, but their Seats are not to be found.

Eudox. But how then cometh it to pass, that they have never since been recovered, nor their Habitations re-edified, as of the rest, which have been no less spoiled and wasted?

Iren. The cause thereof was, for that after their Desolation they were begged by Gentlemen, of the Kings, under colour to repair them, and gather the poor Reliques of the People again together; of whom having obtained them, they
were

were so far from re-edifying of them, as that by all means they have endeavoured to keep them waste; lest that being repaired, their Charters might be renewed, and their Burgeffes restored to their Lands, which they had now in their Possession; much like as in those old Monuments of Abbeyes and religious Houses, we see them likewise use to do: For which cause it is judged that King *Henry* the Eighth bestowed them upon them, conceiving that thereby they should never be able to rise again. And even so do these Lords, in these poor old Corporate Towns, of which I could name divers, but for kindling of Displeasure. Therefore as I wished many Corporate Towns to be erected, so would I again wish them to be free, not depending upon the Service, nor under the Command of any but the Governor. And being so, they will both strengthen all the Countrey round about them, which by their means will be the better replenished and enriched; and also be as continual Holds for her Majesty, if the People should revolt or break out again; for without such it is easy to forage and over-run the whole Land. Let be for ensample all those Free-Boroughs in the Low-Countreys, which are now all the Strength thereof. These and other like Ordinances might be delivered for the good Establishment of the Realm, after it is once subdued and reformed, in which it might afterwards be very easily kept and maintained, with small Care of the Governours

nours and Council there appointed, so as it should in short space yield a plentiful Revenue to the Crown of *England*, which now doth but suck and consume the Treasure thereof, through those unsound Plots and changeful Orders, which are daily devised for her good, yet never effectually prosecuted or performed.

Eudox. But in all this your Discourse, I have not marked any thing by you spoken, touching the Appointment of the principal Officer, to whom you wish the Charge and Performance of all this to be committed : Only I observed some foul Abuses by you noted in some of the late Governours ; the Reformation whereof you left off, for this present place.

Iren. I delight not to lay open the Blames of great Magistrates to the Rebuke of the World, and therefore their Reformation I will not meddle with, but leave unto the Wisdom of greater Heads to be considered : only thus much I will speak generally thereof, to satisfy your desire, that the Government and chief Magistracy, I wish to continue as it doth ; to wit, that it be ruled by a Lord Deputy or Justice, for that it is a very safe kind of Rule ; but therewithal I wish, that over him there were placed also a Lord Lieutenant of some of the greatest Personages in *England* : such a one I could name, upon whom the Eye of all *England* is fixed, and our last
Hopes

Hopes now rest ; who being intituled with that Dignity, and being here always resident, may back and defend the good Course of that Government against all Maligators, which else will through their cunning working under-hand, deprave and pull back what ever thing shall be begun or intended there, as we commonly see by Experience at this day, to the utter Ruine and Desolation of that poor Realm. And this Lieutenancy should be no discountenancing of the Lord Deputy, but rather a strengthening of all his doings : for now the chief Evil in that Government is, that no Governour is suffered to go on with any one Course, but upon the least Information here, of this or that, he is either stopped and crossed, or other Courses appointed him from hence which he shall run, which how inconvenient it is, is at this hour too well felt. And therefore this should be one principle in the appointing of the Lord Deputy's Authority, that it should be more ample and absolute than it is, and that he should have uncontrouled Power, to do any thing that he, with the Advise-ment of the Council, should think meet to be done : For it is not possible for the Council here, to direct a Government there, who shall be forced oftentimes to follow the Necessity of present Actions, and to take the suddain Advantage of Time, which being once lost, will not be recovered ; whilst through expecting Direction from hence, the Delays whereof are oftentimes

times through other greater Affairs most irksome, the Opportunities there in the mean time pass away, and great Danger often groweth, which by such timely prevention might easily be stopped. And this (I remember) is worthily observed by *Machiavel* in his Discourses upon *Livie*, where he commendeth the manner of the *Romans* Government, in giving absolute Power to all their Counsellors and Governours, which if they abused, they should afterwards dearly answer: And the contrary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of *Venice*, of *Florence*, and many other Principalities of *Italy*; who use to limit their chief Officers so strictly, as that thereby they have oftentimes lost such happy Occasions, as they could never come unto again: the like whereof, whoso hath been conversant in the Government of *Ireland*, hath too often seen to their great Hindrance and Hurt. Therefore this I could wish to be redressed; and yet not so, but that in particular things he should be restrained, though not in the general Government: as namely in this, that no Offices should be sold by the Lord Deputy for Money, nor no Pardons, nor no Protections bought for Reward, nor no Beoves taken for Captainries of Counties, nor no Shares of Bishopricks for nominating of Bishops, nor no Forfeitures nor Dispensations with penal Statutes given to their Servants or Friends, nor no selling of Licences for transportation of prohibited Wares, and specially of Corn
and

and Flesh, with many the like; which need some manner of restraint, or else very great Trust in the honourable Disposition of the Lord Deputy.

Thus I have, *Eudoxus*, as briefly as I could, and as my Memory would serve me, run through the State of that whole Countrey, both to let you see what it now is, and also what it may be by good Care and Amendment. Not that I take upon me to change the Policy of so great a Kingdom, or prescribe Rules to such wise Men as have the handling thereof; but only to shew you the Evils, which in my small Experience I have observed to be the chief Hindrance of the Reformation, and by way of Conference, to declare my simple Opinion for the redress thereof, and establishing a good Course for Government; which I do not deliver as a perfect Plot of mine own Invention to be only followed, but as I have learned and understood the same by the Consultations and Actions of very wise Governours and Counsellors, whom I have (sometimes) heard treat hereof: so have I thought good to set down a Remembrance of them for my own good, and your satisfaction, that whoso list to overlook them, although perhaps much wiser than they which have thus advised of that State, yet at least by comparison hereof, may perhaps better his own Judgment, and by the Light of others fore-going

fore-going him, may follow after with more ease, and haply find a fairer way thereunto, than they which have gone before.

Eudox. I thank you, *Ireneus*, for this your gentle Pains, withal not forgetting now in the shutting up, to put you in mind of that which you have formerly half promised; that hereafter when we shall meet again, upon the like good Occasion, you will declare unto us those your observations which you have gathered, of the antiquities of *Ireland*.

F I N I S.



I N D E X.

A

- A** *Rstbur*, (the *British King*) had *Ireland* under his Allegiance. Page, 72
- Armour*, of the *Irish*. 88, 96
- and Furniture of an *Irish* Horseman. 108
- Ancient*, customs, observed by many Nations. 93
- Apparel*, of the *Irish*. 106
- should be agreeable to People's Condition. 107
- the effects of it on the Mind. ib
- Abuses*, in the Civil Government of *Ireland*, and by whom. 136, 137
- Aldred*, the *Saxon King*, suppresses Robbers and Outlaws in *England* and reforms the State. 218
- Arundel*, of the *Stronde* anciently a great Lord. 226
- reduced to serve the Lord *Barrie* ib
- Alderman*, his Institution, Office, and Power. 232, 233, 235
- Arts and Sciences*, greatly wanting in *Ireland* 237
- very necessary to reform a State. ib
- to be Encouraged by Law. 240
- how to be Introduced. 241

B

- B** *Rehon Law*, the only known to the *Irish*. 7
- Explain'd. ib
- Belfast*, destroy'd by *Edward le Bruce*. 28
- Birmingham*, (Lord *John*) kills *le Bruce* and puts his Army to Flight. ib
- Bardes*,

I N D E X.

| | |
|--|----------|
| <i>Bardes</i> , their Chronicles very Fabulous. | 61 |
| yet of great use in throwing Light on ob- scure Times and comparing with other Historians. | 62 |
| amongst them some Reliques of true An- tiquity. | ib |
| amongst the <i>Britains</i> and <i>Gauls</i> . | 95 |
| their Importance. | 112 |
| their Licentiousness in choosing lawless Subjects, which corrupt the Minds of Youth. | 113, 114 |
| sing the Praises of Thieves, Robbers and Outlaws. | 115 |
| their Compositions Sweet and Witty. | 116 |
| <i>Booies</i> , what. | 76 |
| great Enormities to the Common-wealth. | 76 |
| <i>Bishops</i> , of <i>Ireland</i> have their Clergy in great Awe. | 132 |
| some keep the Benefices in their own Hands. | ib |
| their Servants and Horseboys take up the Tythes and Fruits. | 133 |
| their Excuse for doing so. | ib |
| <i>Birnes and Tooles</i> , their Origin. | 176 |
| <i>Booking</i> , the People very pernicious to the state. | 223 |
| <i>Borough</i> , what it is. | 233, 234 |
| <i>Bridges</i> , to be built and <i>Fords</i> destroyed. | 249 |

C

| | |
|---|-----------|
| <i>Causes</i> , that hinder the Improvement of <i>Ire- land</i> . | 3 |
| <i>Common Law</i> of <i>England</i> , not agreeable to the <i>Irish</i> and why. | 6, 17, 34 |
| <i>Common Law</i> , most convenient for the Kingdom for which it is first devised. | 33 |
| <i>Counties</i> , planted by the <i>English</i> , destroy'd. | 22 |
| <i>Clarence</i> | |

I N D E X.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| <i>Clarence</i> (Duke of) his Services in <i>Ireland</i> . | 24 |
| Repairs the Castle of <i>Clara</i> . | ib |
| called into <i>England</i> and destroyed. | ib |
| <i>County Palatines</i> , in <i>Ireland</i> their Origin and Inconvenience. | 45, 46, 47 |
| <i>Corporation Privileges</i> , tho' first Reasonable, now very Inconvenient. | 47 |
| <i>Corporate Towns</i> , to be charged towards the Ex- pence of Garrisons | 209, 210 |
| to be Free. | 253 |
| necessary for strengthening the Country. ib | |
| will yield a plentiful Revenue to the Go- vernment. | 254 |
| <i>Coigny and Livery</i> , made Treason. | 51 |
| the Expediency first of that Law and now the Inconvenience. | 52 |
| the meaning of those Terms. | ib |
| <i>Cork</i> , a Letter from thence Complaining of the Insolence and Pride of the English Lords and Gentlemen in <i>Ireland</i> . | 98 |
| <i>Customs</i> , of the <i>Irish</i> , many from the <i>Scythians</i> . | 76, 88 |
| Superstitious Religious ones of the <i>Irish</i> . | 89, 90, 91, 92 |
| from the <i>Spaniards</i> . | 93, 94 |
| of the old <i>English</i> in <i>Ireland</i> more Lawless and Licentious than the meer <i>Irish</i> . | 97 |
| a Barbarous one. | 96 |
| <i>Carrowes</i> , Gamesters and Thieves. | 117 |
| <i>Cefs</i> , amongst the <i>Irish</i> , what. | 123 |
| fundry Sorts. | ib |
| some very Hurtful and Offensive. | ib |
| <i>Clergy</i> , their Hardships and Discouragements. | 134 |
| Licentious and Disorderly. | 135 |
| <i>Church Livings</i> , to be given to <i>Englishmen</i> of good Conversation and Sufficiency before any <i>Irish</i> . | 133 |
| <i>Captains</i> , | |

I N D E X.

| | |
|---|----------|
| <i>Captains</i> , their corruptions in Garrisons. | 167 |
| not to be allow'd to pay their Soldiers. | 168 |
| whom fit for the Service in <i>Ireland</i> | 182 |
| <i>Colonels</i> , great regard to be had in choosing them. | 168 |
| what Authority to be allow'd them. | 169 |
| <i>Conaught</i> , its Contents according to Records. | 196 |
| divided into Counties. | ib |
| Escheated Lands in this Province | 197 |
| <i>Clancarty</i> , his Country. | 207, 208 |
| <i>Cattle</i> , none to be Bought or Sold but in open Market. | 251 |
| to be Mark'd on the Buttock. | ib |
| <i>Corn</i> , to be brought to open Market. | ib |

D

| | |
|--|-----|
| D <i>Esmond</i> (Earl of) convey'd his Lands to Feoffees in Trust before he entered into Rebellion. | 42 |
| (<i>Thomas</i> Earl of) Executed at <i>Tredagh</i> , unjustly. | 101 |

E

| | |
|--|----------------|
| E <i>Riach</i> , a Recompence for Murder. | 7 |
| <i>English</i> Enslave the <i>Irish</i> , and every one makes his Will a Law unto his own Vassals. | 21 |
| <i>English</i> , Lords having Possessions in <i>Ireland</i> repair into <i>England</i> . | 22 |
| that remain Expelled by the <i>Irish</i> . | ib |
| <i>English Pale</i> , the only Part remaining to the <i>English</i> . | 23 |
| <i>English Pale</i> , (the Old) its Extent. | 27 |
| <i>English</i> , degenerate and become mere <i>Irish</i> . | 74 |
| more Malicious to the <i>English</i> than the <i>Irish</i> . | ib |
| | <i>English</i> |

I N D E X.

- English*, of the *Pale* preserve themselves in Civility, 98
- Lords and Gentlemen in *Ireland* draw in the *Irish* and make war on each other. ib
- in *Connaught* and *Munster* and some of the other Provinces degenerate and take *Irish* Names. ib
- take *Irish* Habits and Custom. 102
- Spake the *Irish* Language and the Cause. 103, 104
- Fosterings and Marrying with the *Irish* dangerous to the Common-Wealth. 104, 105
- grow into hatred of the Government, by oppression of the Soldiery. 124
- Governours in *Ireland* take wrong Measures. 138, 139
- Landlords to be put over such Rebels as Submit. 189
- to be chosen out to People *Ulster* and *Connaught*. 195
- become mere *Irish* by Fostering and Marrying with the *Irish*. 229
- need a more serious Reformation than the *Irish*. 230
- more stubborn and disobedient than the *Irish*. ib
- become flat Libertines in *Ireland* and the reason. 231
- and *Irish* to be made one People 232
- England*, said to have first their learned Men from *Ireland*. 63
- formerly Infested with Robbers and Outlaws, and suppress'd by King *Aldred*. 218
- an example for *Ireland* in reforming the State. 219, 220
- Edward*

I N D E X.

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Edward IV. sends the Duke of Clarence to redress</i> | |
| <i>grievances in Ireland.</i> | 24 |
| <i>Edward le Bruce, sent into Ireland by the King</i> | |
| <i>of Scotts.</i> | 27 |
| <i>destroys the English Pale.</i> | ib |
| <i>roots out the Families of the Audlies, Tal-</i> | |
| <i>bots, Touchets, Chamberlains, Mandi-</i> | |
| <i>viles and Savages.</i> | 28 |
| <i>makes himself King of Ireland.</i> | ib |
| <i>is Kill'd by Lord John Birmingham.</i> | ib |
| <i>his Army in their flight Destroy all before</i> | |
| <i>them.</i> | 29 |
| <i>Egfrid, King of Northumberland, wastes and</i> | |
| <i>subdues Ireland.</i> | 72 |
| <i>Edgar, (King) bringeth Ireland under his Obe-</i> | |
| <i>dience.</i> | 73 |
| <i>Elizabeth, (Queen) at 12000 Pound per Month</i> | |
| <i>Expence against Tyrone, and nothing</i> | |
| <i>done.</i> | 146 |
| <i>ill served in Ireland.</i> | 147 |

F

| | |
|---|-----|
| F <i>Itz-Garrat's Rebellion.</i> | 30 |
| <i>Fabulous Accounts, of the first Inhabitants</i> | |
| <i>of Ireland.</i> | 66 |
| <i>Felony, in an Irish Man, not so in an English</i> | |
| <i>Man.</i> | 51 |
| <i>Fitz Urfula, the original Name of the Mac-</i> | |
| <i>Mahons.</i> | 100 |
| <i>Folk-Motes, Places of meeting</i> | 119 |
| <i>many Murdered at them.</i> | ib |
| <i>Built by the Saxons for Defence.</i> | 120 |
| <i>Meetings at such best to be Abolish'd</i> | 122 |
| <i>Fable, of the Horse and Stag apply'd to O Neal's</i> | |
| <i>Sons.</i> | 171 |
| <i>Feagh Mac Hugh, his History, 175, 176, 177,</i> | |
| <i>178, 179</i> | |
| <i>Grey,</i> | |

G

- G**rey, (Lord) a dangerous Rebellion in his government suppress'd by him. 30
 governs *Ireland* after in Peace for 13 Years. 31
 his Character. ib
 for his great Services in *Ireland*, esteemed a bloody Man and blamed. 160
 all the Services of the Government thereby frustrated. 161
 his character gentle, affable, loving, and temperate. ib
 Necessities of State enforce him to Violence. 162, 163
 refuses the *Spaniard's* Mercy, as not a lawful Enemy. 163, 164
Gauls, Countries first Inhabited by them. 64
 their Speech the same as the *Welsh*. 70
 possess and inhabit the Southern Coast of *Ireland*. 71
 antiently inhabit the Southern Coast of *England*. ib
Giants, in *Ireland* Fabulous. 66
Geraldines and Butlers, Governors of *Ireland*. 98
Geraldines, a mighty Family in *Munster*. 101
Glibbs, worn by the *Irish*. 78
 Masks for Thieves. 83
 why Worn. 94
Gallowglasses, the name of *Irish* Foot Soldiers. 109
 the name Ancient *English*. 110
 their Dress and Arms. ib
Governours, of *Ireland* blameable. 138
 envious of each other. 139
 take wrong methods to reform the *Irish* ib
Governour, the great Necessity of his being near his Duty. 201
Garrisons propos'd as the best Method of subduing the Enemy. 149

M

Garrisons

I N D E X.

| | |
|---|-----|
| Garrisons , where and how to be Planted. | 150 |
| manner of supplying them. | 151 |
| to be overlooked by the Lord Deputy. | 152 |
| in <i>Conaught</i> and Corporate Towns. | 200 |
| in <i>Leinster</i> and where. | 204 |
| in <i>Munster</i> . | 205 |
| at <i>Waterford</i> and <i>Cork</i> . | 209 |

H

| | |
|---|-----|
| H ouses of <i>York</i> and <i>Lancaster</i> , their contentions a great hindrance to the Reduction of <i>Ireland</i> . | 22 |
| <i>Hundreds</i> and <i>Boroughs</i> , what. | 232 |
| to Assemble once a Year. | 234 |
| <i>Head-Borough</i> , h s Office. | 232 |
| <i>Husbandry</i> , the first thing to be provided for in a State. | 237 |
| <i>Husbandmen</i> , their Sons by a Law in <i>Ireland</i> to be brought up in the Employment of their Fathers. | 138 |

I

| | |
|--|--------|
| I <i>rish</i> , ever acquainted with Wars. | 6, 19 |
| never taught obedience to Laws. | 7 |
| Chiefs acknowledge King <i>Henry VIII.</i> for their Sovereign Lord. | 9 |
| hard to be restrained by Laws. | 19 |
| had not the benefit of the <i>English</i> Laws. | 21 |
| Expel the <i>English</i> and répossess their Lands. | 22, 23 |
| bring many of the <i>English</i> under, who were before their Lords. | ib |
| combine with <i>Edward le Bruce</i> . | 27 |
| their cunning in evading the <i>English</i> Laws. | 36 |
| their Antiquity and Origin. | 58 |
| their Customs, what Nations derived from. | 76 |
| <i>Irish</i> , | |

I N D E X.

| | |
|--|------------------|
| <i>Irish</i> , Hubbub or War-cry. | 84, 87 |
| Proofs of their being descended from the <i>Scythians</i> . | 84, 89, 90 |
| their Armour. | 88 |
| their manner of going to Battle. | 89 |
| Horse-man described, remarkable for his Comeliness. | 108, 109 |
| Foot-soldiers called <i>Gallowglasses</i> . | 109 |
| as brave Soldiers as any Nation. | 111 |
| Horse-boys their use. | 116 |
| Horse-boys very pernicious and fit only for the Halter. | 117 |
| very fond of News. | 117 |
| very ill Instructed in Religion. | 129 |
| hate all Reformation and Subjection to the <i>English</i> , and why. | 141 |
| not to dwell together in Septs. | 189 |
| almost all Gentlemen. | 220 |
| scorn to Work on that Account and the ill Consequence. | 221 |
| <i>Irish Tanistry</i> , defeats her Majesty of her Rights and Duties. | 227, 228 |
| <i>Irish Priests</i> , meer Laymen, | 131 |
| neither Read Scripture, Preach, nor administer the Communion. | 132 |
| take Tythes and Offerings. | ib |
| <i>Ireland</i> , described, particularly the old <i>English</i> <i>Pale</i> . | 29 |
| disturbed with many Rebellions. | 31, 32 |
| peopled from several Nations. | 57 |
| the <i>North</i> Parts first inhabited by <i>Scy-</i> <i>thians</i> . | ib |
| by the <i>Scythians</i> called <i>Scotland</i> . | 59 |
| by some Writers called <i>Scotia Major</i> . | 60 |
| antiently called <i>Erin</i> . | ib |
| the West parts peopled from <i>Spain</i> . | ib |
| called <i>Hibernia</i> from <i>Hiberus</i> one of the Sons of <i>Milesius</i> . | 66 |
| M 2 | <i>Ireland</i> , |

I N D E X.

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Ireland</i> , the <i>Southern</i> parts inhabited from <i>Britain</i> . | 72. |
| called <i>Britannia</i> by <i>Diodorus Siculus</i> & <i>Strabo</i> . | ib |
| subdued by the <i>Saxons</i> . | ib |
| under Allegiance to <i>K. Arthur</i> . | ib |
| subdued by <i>Egfrid King</i> of <i>Northumberland</i> . | ib |
| brought under obedience of <i>K. Edgar</i> . | 73 |
| conquer'd by <i>Strongbow</i> and delivered into the Hands of <i>K. Henry II</i> . | 74 |
| divided amongst his Followers. | ib |
| a great Soyle of Pasture. | 239 |
| <i>Yesters</i> , notable Rogues and Thieves. | 117 |
| great News Carriers. | ib |
| <i>Indulgence</i> , what to be allow'd the Enemy. | 155 |
| the means of drawing off many of their People. | 156 |
| none for those that do not submit on the first Summons, and the reason | 157 |
| <i>Idlers</i> , how to suppress and punish. | 242 |
| <i>Inns</i> , to be erected for Travellers in Market-Towns. | 251 |

K

| | |
|---|-----|
| K <i>Ings</i> , their Presence very necessary to enforce Laws. | 19 |
| <i>Kincogish</i> , an <i>Irish</i> Custom and what. | 54 |
| the Evils of it. | 55 |
| its Derivation. | 56 |
| <i>Kerns</i> , a Description of them. | 110 |
| very Cruel and Wicked. | ib |
| valiant and hardy. | 111 |
| their great Spoil and Waste. | 159 |
| their manner of supporting themselves by Extortion and Spoil. | 225 |
| to be made to Labour. | 238 |
| their leud Lives of Thievery and Roguery. | ib |

Laws,

I N D E X.

L

- L**aws, first intended for the Reformation of Abuses, sometimes tend to many Evils 5
of *England*, never properly enforced in *Ireland*. 9, 20
to be Fashioned to the Manners and Conditions of the People. 17
of the *Lacedemonians*, absurd for the *Athenians* and why. 18
the King's Presence very necessary to Enforce them. 19
of *England* given to the *English* in *Ireland*, and not to the Natives. 21
(Statutes) of *Ireland*, some Impertinent and some too severe 48, 49
liberty of executing given to corporate Towns. 50, 51
of no use without Penalties and Execution. 106
against wearing *Irish* Apparel. ib
to be amended and how. 215, 216, 217
- Learning*, and the use of Letters very early in *Ireland*. 63
from whence brought there. 64
the great Advantages of it. 241
softens and tempers the most savage Nature. ib
- Landlords*, do not let their Lands for Term of Years. 125
lay on their Tenants. *Coigne* and *Livery* at Pleasure. ib
Reasons for their not letting Lands by Lease and the great Evils that follow. 125
letting Lands for Years, of great advantage to the Common-wealth, and the many Instances of it. 127, 128

I N D E X.

| | |
|---|----------|
| <i>Leinster</i> , described. | 203 |
| its Contents. | 204 |
| Garrisons to be Establish'd in it, and where. | ib |
| <i>Lords and great Men</i> , commit great Extortions on their Tenants. | 226 |
| Proposals for reforming their Abuses. | 227, 228 |
| to hold their Lands by grant from the Crown. | 228, 229 |
| <i>Lacies</i> , in Ireland shake off their Allegiance. | 230 |
| <i>Lord Deputy</i> , to have a Lord Lieutenant over him to strengthen him. | 254 |
| to have full Power with the Advice of the Council to do what they think fit for the service of the State. | 255 |
| his waiting for Orders from <i>England</i> a great hindrance to the Service. | ib |
| not to take shares of Bishopricks for Nominating Bishops, nor Forfeitures, nor give dispensations to his Servants or Friends. | 256, 257 |

M

| | |
|---|----|
| M <i>Urrogh en Ranagh</i> and the discontented <i>Irish</i> rise in <i>Thomond</i> , and surprize the Castle of <i>Clare</i> . | 24 |
| burn and spoil all the <i>English</i> there. | ib |
| possess all the Country beyond the <i>Shannon</i> , and overrun all <i>Munster</i> and <i>Connaught</i> committing great Ravages. | 25 |
| destroys <i>Inchequin</i> , <i>Killaloe</i> , <i>Thurles</i> , <i>Mourne</i> , <i>Buttevant</i> , and many other Places. | ib |
| marches into <i>Leinster</i> wasting all the Country. | ib |
| creates himself King of all <i>Ireland</i> . | ib |
| <i>Mac Mahons</i> , | |

I N D E X.

| | |
|---|------------|
| <i>Mac Mahons</i> , in <i>Ulster</i> , antiently <i>English</i> and change their Name. | 100 |
| in <i>Munster</i> , <i>English</i> do the same. | 101 |
| <i>Mac Swynes</i> , in <i>Ulster</i> , <i>English</i> do the same. | 100, 101 |
| <i>Mac Shebies</i> , of <i>Munster</i> , <i>English</i> do the same. | ib |
| <i>Mantles</i> , worn by the <i>Irish</i> . | 78 |
| worn by most of the Ancient Nations. | ib |
| their Convenience and Inconvenience, | 79, 80, 81 |
| serves for a Bed. | 106 |
| <i>Munster</i> , a rich and plentiful Country reduced to great Distress in a short time. | 158 |
| shocking consequences of the War there. | ib |
| left void of Man and Beast by Famine. | 159 |
| its contents by Record. | 206 |
| Garrisons and where established in it. | 207, 208 |
| <i>Meath</i> , described and its contents. | 205 |
| needless to put Garrisons in it. | ib |
| <i>Magistrates</i> , to be appointed, and how chosen. | 232 |
| <i>Market Towns</i> , their great utility. | 250 |
| <i>Machiavel</i> , an Observation of his Pertinent to <i>Ireland</i> . | 256 |
| <i>Magazines</i> , of Corn proposed in <i>Ireland</i> . | 212 |

N

| | |
|--|-----|
| N obility, to be Sworn and give Security to the State. | 222 |
|--|-----|

O

| | |
|---|-----|
| O Neal, and the northern <i>Irish</i> revolt. | 24 |
| <i>O Neal</i> , (Earl of <i>Tyrone</i>) reasons for not receiving his Submission. | 170 |
| <i>O Neal</i> , | |

I N D E X.

| | |
|--|----------|
| <i>O Neál, (Earl of Tyrone) set up against Terlagh Leinagh by Queen Elizabeth.</i> | 172 |
| <i>O Neal, (Earl of Tyrone) nearly allied to the Mac Neals of Scotland.</i> | 173 |
| <i>O Neal, (Earl of Tyrone) his usurpations in the North.</i> | 174, 175 |
| <i>O Hanlon's Breech, an Irish Proverb.</i> | 102 |
| <i>O's and Mac's, a proposal to extinguish those Names.</i> | 236 |
| <i>Oaths, of the Ancient Irish.</i> | 91 |

P

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>P</i> errot's (Sir John) Administration in Ireland. | 165 |
| <i>Provost Marshal, to be appointed in every County to take and punish Idlers at his Will.</i> | 242 |

R

| | |
|--|----------|
| <i>R</i> ebellion, of the Birns and Toolcs near Dublin. | 31 |
| <i>of Feagh Mac Hugh.</i> | ib |
| <i>of the Cavenaghs in the Counties of Carterlagh, Wexford, and Waterford.</i> | 32 |
| <i>of the O Moores in Leix, Kilkenny, and Kildare.</i> | ib |
| <i>of the O Connors in Ofa'y and Longford.</i> | ib |
| <i>of the O Relyes and Kellyes in Westmeath, Cavan, and Lowth.</i> | ib |
| <i>Rebells, that submit to be receiv'd.</i> | 186 |
| <i>Conditions for receiving them.</i> | 187 |
| <i>Provisions to be made for them, and how.</i> | 188, 189 |
| <i>Raths, Places of Meeting among the Irish.</i> | 118 |
| <i>built by the Danes for Forts.</i> | 120 |
| <i>Raths,</i> | |

I N D E X.

| | |
|--|----------|
| <i>Raths</i> , some built as Monuments of Battles or Burials. | 121 |
| Meetings at those Places very dangerous. | 122 |
| <i>Religion</i> , of the <i>Irish</i> . | 129 |
| many gross Disorders in it, and Ignorance of the <i>Irish</i> Clergy. | 131 |
| not forcibly to be impress'd by Terrour and Penalties, but with Mildness and Gentleness. | 244, 245 |
| the Ease of bringing over the <i>Irish</i> to it by good Teachers. | ib |
| the Zeal of the Popish Clergy to draw the People to the Church of Rome tho' peril of Death await them. | ib |
| the established Clergy's, great neglect of their Duty. | 246 |
| Reformation in it hindred by the Youth of <i>Ireland</i> being sent to Popish Universities. | 246 |
| building and repairing ruined Churches, a means to Establish it. | 247 |
| <i>Reformation</i> , in Government much wanted in <i>Ireland</i> . | 142, 143 |
| means proposed for it. | 144, 145 |
| <i>Roads</i> , to be made and fenced on both Sides. | 249 |
| <i>Robberies</i> , how they may be prevented. | ib |

S

| | |
|---|--------|
| <i>Scotland</i> , first peopled from <i>Ireland</i> . | 59 |
| called by some Writers <i>Scotia Minor</i> . | 60 |
| <i>Scythians</i> , the first Inhabitants of <i>Ireland</i> . | 57, 58 |
| inhabit the North Parts. | 59 |
| <i>Scythians and Gauls</i> , two as mighty Nations as ever the World saw. | 70 |
| <i>Spaniards</i> , | |

I N D E X.

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| <i>Spaniards</i> , first inhabiting <i>Ireland</i> , antient <i>Gauls</i> | 64, 71 |
| brought Learning originally into <i>Ireland</i> . | 65 |
| the old Blood of the native <i>Spaniard</i> | 68, 69 |
| quite lost. | 67, 68 |
| <i>Spain</i> , many Revolutions in it. | 67, 68 |
| <i>Saffron Shirts and Smocks</i> , whence derived and | 94 |
| why worn. | 74 |
| <i>Strongbow</i> , Conquers <i>Ireland</i> . | 85 |
| <i>Staniburst</i> , a Mistake of his. | 106 |
| <i>Smocks</i> , long sleev'd worn by the <i>Irish</i> . | 136 |
| <i>Sheriffs</i> , their Extortion. | 243 |
| to take up Idlers and punish them. | 244 |
| not to have power of Life. | ib |
| the danger of giving them power of Life. | ib |
| <i>Soldiers</i> , in <i>Ireland</i> use all kinds of Outrage and | 124 |
| Villany both to <i>English</i> and <i>Irish</i> . | 147 |
| very ill supply'd. | 148 |
| the number propos'd and method to bring | 184 |
| <i>Ireland</i> to Subjection. | 184 |
| after the Reduction of a County to be | 190, 191, 192, 193 |
| provided for there. | 191 |
| the Manner of providing for them. | 192 |
| properly established, of great service and | 193, 194 |
| Ease to the State. | 236 |
| to be supported out of the escheated | 238 |
| Lands. | ib |
| where to be Garrison'd. | ib |
| <i>Sir-Names</i> , to be taken by all the <i>Irish</i> Septs. | ib |
| <i>Stocaghs and Horseboys</i> , to be made to labour. | ib |
| their lewd Lives of Thievery and Ro- | ib |
| guery. | ib |

Tanistry,

T

| | |
|---|---------------|
| T <i>Anistry</i> , what it is. | 70 |
| <i>Tanist</i> , manner of electing. | 11, 12 |
| <i>Tanistry</i> , Original of that Custom. | 12 |
| the Word its derivation. | 13 |
| a dangerous Custom. | 14 |
| <i>Targets</i> , of Leather used by the <i>Irish</i> . | 94 |
| of Wicker used amongst the Northern • <i>Irish</i> . | 96 |
| <i>Tooles</i> , <i>Birns</i> , and <i>Cavanagh</i> s, descended from the Ancient <i>Britons</i> . | 72 |
| <i>Tyrone's</i> Rebellion a great Expence to Queen <i>Elizabeth</i> . | 145 |
| Men and Treasure wasted by wrong Measures. | 145, 146 |
| <i>Towns</i> , to be planned out, and Encouragement for Merchants, Artificers, and Husband- men. | 194 |
| to be Built, and how governed. | 250 |
| many planted, and spoil'd by the <i>Irish</i> . | 252 |
| the reason why not re-edified. | 253 |
| <i>Tythings</i> , the best and mildest way to bring the <i>Irish</i> to Obedience. | 218, 224, 232 |
| <i>Tenants and Freeholders</i> , undone by <i>Coigne</i> , <i>Li-</i> <i>very</i> , and <i>Sorehon</i> . | 226 |
| thro' Ignorance know not their <i>Te-</i> <i>nures</i> . | ib |
| <i>Trades</i> , to be exercised by all that have not Freeholds. | 237 |
| under the Denomination of Handicrafts, Husbandry, Liberal Arts, and Mer- chandise. | ib |
| no Common-Wealth perfect without them. | ib |
| | <i>Vere,</i> |